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REMARKS
ON THE
PRACTICABILITY OF
INDIAN REFORM,
EMBRACING THEIR
COLONIZATION;

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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REMARKS.



CHAPTER 1.

The principles on which Europeans first met the Aborigines of America followed by ruinous consequences. The Indian title to the soil legal. Its legality may be acknowledged without detriment to the United States.

THE design of the following pages is to exhibit the obligation which the people of the United States are under, to meliorate and substantially improve the condition of the Aborigines of our country, together with the means for attaining this most desirable object.

From among the many things which might be said on this subject, I shall endeavour to select a few, which I deem worthy of special notice.

I suppose that the increasing wretchedness of the Indian tribes with whom the Europeans have come in contact ever since their settlement in this country, may be traced to the degradation in which they found them. They were, at that time, sunk to the level of nature, and had ceased to feel the influence of a spirit of improving enterprise. Though in possession of physical means for the elevation of their character, yet they were destitute of mental cultivation.

This fact produced the same effect upon all who discovered, and settled different portions of the country, whether Spaniards, English or French. If some were cruel, and others humane, the difference originated in the feeling each brought with them from their mother country, and not in different views of the national rights of the natives. Neither the one, nor the other, met the Indians as on an equality with themselves. It requires no argument to prove that all agreed in supposing the Indians possessed no legal title to the soil on which they were found, and that they were too destitute of national character to be met on an equality in negotiations. That they had claims on our sympathies, has never been denied by any good man—that they had a legal right, as a nation, to any portion of the territory, has never been admitted by any government which has come in contact with them.

Thus low were the Indians sunk, either in fact, or in the estimation of Europeans, on their discovery of America. They did not possess moral ability to elevate themselves, nor have they since been put in possession of that ability by their more fortunate neighbours. Our views, and our prejudices in relation to them, continue; their degradation, and their wretchedness remain; the latter increasing in proportion to the natural comforts of which the savage state is necessarily deprived by its

proximity to that of the civilized, when the loss of the former is not supplied by a transfer from the comforts of the latter.

The continuance of Indian miseries, is no more a matter of surprise, than the continuance of our prejudices in relation to them. The causes not being removed, improvement in their condition ought not to be anticipated.

In evidence of the assumption that the legality of Indian title, to territory, has never been admitted by any European government which has claimed possessions in North America, nor by the United States, it is sufficient for our present purpose, to refer

1st. To an opinion expressed in a plea before the Supreme Court of the United States, by one of our first statesmen, who says, "What is the Indian title? It is mere occupancy for the purpose of hunting. It is not like our tenures; they have no idea of a title to the soil itself. It is overrun by them, rather than inhabited. It is not a true and legal possession. *Vattel*, b. 1. § 81. p. 37, and § 209, b. 2. p. 96. *Montesquieu*, b. 18. c. 12. *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, b. 5. c. 1. It is a right not to be *transferred*, but *extinguished*. It is a right regulated by treaties, not by deeds of conveyance. It depends upon the law of nations, not upon municipal right. *Fletcher vs. Peck*, *Cranch*. Vol. 6. p. 121."*

2d. To the opinions on this subject expressed by the Commissioners at the treaty of Ghent, "The recognition of a boundary gives up to the nation in whose behalf it was made, all the Indian tribes and countries within that boundary."

3d. To the perfect accordance with the above opinions of all public acts of every nation concerned in the question.

Within the jurisdiction of the United States, it is not admitted that one tribe has a right to convey its nominal claim to another tribe, without the permission of the Government of the United States. Treaties held with the Indian tribes for the extinguishment of their title, are viewed by us in the light of praiseworthy "moderation" on the part of our Government, resulting from a desire "of giving ample satisfaction to every pretence of prior right."

Believing that the doctrine which influenced Europeans on their discovery of America, and which has been entailed on us, is *unsound*, and has ever been a fruitful source of calamities to the natives, and the unnecessary occasion of much perplexity to the United States, I solicit the reader's attention to a brief consideration of the subject.

What claim to the soil, could the people of the United States, or any other people, prefer to an impartial tribunal, which the natives could not plead with equal, or additional propriety? Speak we of the right of discovery? The Indians are the Aborigines of the country. We have not discovered an uninhabited region, but a peopled country. Let us suppose the Chinese at this day to be ignorant of the country of the United States; a company of ships arrive at Jamestown, and set up a claim to the whole of the United States' territories. Would we readily admit that the law of nations made it theirs by the right of discovery? —They take possession; but when retiring before a people of an en-

* I quote from Morse's Indian Report, Appen. p. 283—4. This I consider appropriate, because these opinions have, through the medium of that Report, recently been called up to the view of the public.

tirely separate interest from ours, and of superior strength, could we suppose, that on the great day of retribution, they would be free from all accusations of injustice towards us, and that they would "then appear in the whiteness of innocence?" Prefer your plea, and the Indian adopts it against us with peculiar propriety.

But they are *savages*. The names we have given to the Indians are merely arbitrary, and are made to signify nothing more, than that their manners and customs differ from ours; and, in our estimation, are less desirable. Let us suppose invaders of our rights, urging the same plea, and our question is answered. We found the natives living in those modes of life which they, as a free people, chose for themselves; and we should be found by our invaders in the exercise of the same liberty. Surely the round of nature cannot furnish an argument to justify the taking away of a people's country, merely because the inhabitants have their peculiar modes of living; when too, these modes of life, which differ from those of other nations, are the result of their own free choice, and have never disturbed the peace of others.

But they are merely *hunters*, "and what is the right of a huntsman to the forest of a thousand miles, over which he has accidentally ranged in quest of prey?"

This is not quite the fact. The Indians are huntsmen; and so have always been, to a certain extent, a large portion of our population on the frontiers of our settlements. The Indians never lived wholly by hunting; and a portion of subsistence of white settlers, has almost invariably been taken by the chase. But nobody ever thought that this circumstance affected the legality of their titles to land.

It is not true that the Indians were merely "huntsmen, accidentally passing over forests of a thousand miles." They were people at *home*, and furnishing imperishable monuments of the antiquity of their residence. Here they had lived longer than the existence of the oaks in whose shades they reclined—from time immemorial.

Their country was divided among the several tribes; and if the bounds of each was not fixed with an exactitude equal to that which marks the boundaries of our several States and Territories; yet, it was with a precision which they deemed sufficient, and which we admit, met the exigencies of their situation, equally as well as our lines meet the circumstances of ours. War among themselves, whether on account of disputed territory, or of some other thing, was nothing new in the history of nations. It becomes us to feel for their misfortunes; but not on account thereof, to frame a pretext for possessing ourselves of their country. What law of nations has prescribed the amount of land a people must cultivate in proportion to each individual; the portion of food they must take from the waters, or the woods; and the distances they may, and may not travel in pursuit of their occupations, in order to render them eligible to the possession of territory, and to national character?

We have been told, that "the pilgrims of Plymouth obtained their right of possession to the territory on which they settled, by titles as fair and unquestionable as any human property can be held. They received their charter from their British Sovereign. The spot on which they fixed had belonged to an Indian tribe, totally extirpated by that devouring pestilence which had swept the country before their arrival.

The country thus free from all exclusive possessions, they might have taken by the *natural right* of occupancy.”*

Now, does it not seem strange that this should be the only instance since the world was made, in which a tribe of people had been “totally extirpated” by a devouring pestilence? Is it not astonishing, that no entire tribe of Indians has been destroyed; that no state in the Union has been wholly depopulated, by that devouring pestilence, since the landing of the pilgrims?

But let the nameless disease, or the yellow fever, if you please, destroy some, and drive back others, until the inhabitants shall all have left the District of Columbia. Then another company from England may land in that place, and set up their claims to the district, by “the natural right of occupancy.” Such a supposed reversion of fortune, furnishes its own comment.

They received their Charter from their sovereign. And what right, pray, had their sovereign to charter away the lands of other people, without their consent? In that day, if the land could be called by an Englishman “remote,” and its inhabitants “heathen and barbarous,” a sufficient pretext was found for dispossessing the rightful owners, and for giving it to others. It is on these grounds that we hold our “fair and unquestionable titles” to the country. To what a pitch of vainness must men have arrived, when they could fit out ships and men to take possession of an entire country, regardless of the rights of the Aborigines, and then teach their children to laud the innocence of such a transaction!

As an apology for our conduct, we have been told that these were “erratic nations,” incapable, by the smallness of their number, of peopling the whole country.” Now I would ask for some evidence to support this assertion. Where is the nation, or tribe, that is erratic in a national capacity? Precisely the reverse is the fact. It is well known that each tribe is peculiarly attached to its own district; and few individuals are found who do not cling to the land of their ancestors, and hover over their tombs, until forced to retire by means not to be resisted. Let us be pointed to one single tribe that was, or is erratic, and so much of the matter at issue shall be conceded. But it is fearlessly asserted that no such tribe has ever been known to exist on our continent.

That the Indians have emigrated from one country to another, is not denied; but it was not because they were *wandering* tribes, which never sought or possessed a permanent residence. The Delawares, for instance, who resided many years in what is now the State of Indiana, once inhabited around the Delaware bay, and at this time, most of them are west of the Mississippi river. But the reasons for their exchanges of country, are too well known, to allow us to denominate them a *wandering* nation.

Indians have, in some instances, migrated from one section of country to another, from causes which existed wholly among themselves; and we have done the same. Each tribe traverses at pleasure its own district, as the business of individuals requires, and we are habitually

* It is not a want of respect for the venerable pilgrims of Plymouth, that induces me to mention them particularly; but it is because the sayings to which I am replying, have lately come before the public, and therefore claim particular attention.

pursuing a similar course of conduct. Individual Indians, or deputed companies, occasionally pass into the territories of a tribe to which they do not belong, and by common consent, attend to their private business, or to the business of their tribe. So, also, among us, the people of one State, are ordinarily, in the prosecution of their business, passing through the territories of others.

We are told that "the Indians claim too much territory for their numbers—they are too thinly scattered over the country: Europeans have not, therefore, deviated from the views of nature in confining them within narrow limits." Precisely the same thing might be urged against us by Chinese invaders. It is well known that the States and territories in the Union, which are at this time partially settled, would contain with convenience, and with increased convenience too, more than five times the number at present inhabiting them. Our Chinese invaders might plead against us our own arguments, that the proportion of inhabitants sustained in their country, was more than tenfold greater than that in ours, and, therefore, they "would not deviate from the views of nature in confining us within narrower limits."

Again, it has been asserted that "the Indians have no idea of a title to the soil itself." This is an assumption without the shadow of reason; indeed, it is at variance with the recurrence of positive and well known facts. It has been the misfortune of the Indian that he was incapable of recording on parchment his views of this subject, or of publishing them to the world, and pleading his own cause. But ask the Commissioners of the United States, who have encountered so many difficulties in negotiating with the natives for cessions of their lands, and they will tell you, that the assumption is untenable. Look to the whole course of Indian conduct relative to the case, ever since the settlement of whites on the continent, and an united voice, as of many waters, will tell you. Or, visit the Indians in their tents, and they will tell you themselves, and that too, in expressions of grief and despair, that, unless your heart be cased in adamant, will make you both sigh and weep. Indians are actually sitting by me while I pen this paragraph: I cannot be mistaken.

May I not, without fear of contradiction, assert that no claim to any portion of the United States' Territories, can be preferred, which will not apply in favour of the Aborigines? Since it is not true, that their title is "mere occupancy for the purpose of hunting," as we have been told, but that this has been their home for ages, beyond the stretch of mortal research, may I not say that their claims are, in many respects, superior to ours, and sustained by all the rules of justice by which the claims of individuals, States, and Nations, are supported?

In defence of the conduct of England and the United States, we will not plead their superior strength over that of the natives, because such a plea would be too shocking to the well known humanity of those nations. What then, may we ask, has been the cause of a departure from the common usage of civilized nations in regard to the Indians, but their ignorance and degradation?

But, in the matter of Indian reform, we must take things as we find them. We cannot now retrace the steps of two hundred years. And further, the policy of which we complain did not originate with the United States; it was commenced prior to the existence of the Union. It has been entailed on us, rather than adopted by us. Such is the

wisdom with which our government is constructed, that a happy tone of feeling has, in many honourable instances, softened the severity of maxims, to which despotic governments gave birth.

I shall omit a recital of those considerations which are designed more especially to awaken our sympathies, and content myself by simply stating the undeniable fact, that on our borders and within our settlements, thousands of these wretched people still exist. This fact forces upon us the inquiry, What ought to be done with them, all things considered? They are evidently, with slight exceptions, incapable of taking care of themselves. This incapacity, however, can no more affect their just rights, than a fever, which would incapacitate one of our citizens for business, would affect his. Found within the defined limits of the United States, it becomes our Government to assume their guardianship. This, it will be said, has been done. True; but has it not been done at the expense of all Indian rights?

By our Government, provision is made for minors and invalids. It would be affecting cruelty to deprive such of their just rights, to deny the legality of their claims to land, and doom them and their posterity to poverty and degradation; to do more—to forbid them by law, and common prejudices, to hope for equal privileges with the more fortunate.

Assuming the guardianship of the Indians, and at the same time admitting the legality of their claims to territory, would no more entitle them to privileges among us which they could not judiciously exercise, than the laws of a State, providing for minors and guarding their property, would entitle them to an active voice in the affairs of government.

It has been thought that by admitting the legality of Indian title to soil, we should concede to them the entire right to convey the same as they might choose, to foreigners, or to individuals of our own nation, who would take advantage of Indian ignorance to their immediate ruin, and to the great disadvantage of the United States.

But these conclusions do not necessarily follow the premises laid down. A boy of ten years old might be induced to sell his patrimony for a whistle. The state is at no loss to provide against such trifling. It assumes the management of the property of the minor. Why? Because the minor is incapable of managing it himself. In this assumption, the *capacity* only of the minor is denied, not his rights. The legality of his claim is *not* predicated upon the supposition that he is to become an active citizen, but upon the *justice* of the case. For, if the minor should de cease, the same law which secured the property to him, points to the next legal claimant, though he also be a minor.

I cannot apprehend danger to my doctrine, from the mere circumstance, that in one case the supposition rests upon a descendant of a citizen of the United States; and, in the other, upon one whose ancestors have never been acknowledged as such. We are speaking of things as they at this time exist. We have marked off the boundaries of the United States, and have said, that "the recognition of a boundary gives up to the nation, in whose behalf it was made, all the Indian tribes and countries within that boundary." We have already said, that they belonged to us; therefore they come properly within the spirit of the case stated in relation to minors.

Further, our civil institutions do positively secure the rights of aliens within our territories. They are allowed to hold property in fee. Our

laws secure to them their right in property while they live, and in case of death, the same descends securely to their heirs.

Is it argued that minors are properly within the reach of our laws? So are the Indians. Our laws extend to the Indians, just as far as we choose to have them. We do not impose on them taxes, nor any portion of the burden of our civil, or military institutions. This is so far merely a remuneration for the denial to them of privileges granted to other foreigners. Indians are committed to our state prisons for felony, and have been regularly proceeded against, in cases of murder, convicted and hung. It cannot be denied, that the Indians are really cognizable by our laws, which are made to affect them just so far as, in the wisdom of our Government, the subject requires; and this is the case in relation to minors.

In the present state of things, I cannot conceive any reason why our Government may not exercise over them the necessary guardianship, and still allow the legality of their claims to the lands owned by the tribes severally. Nor do I discover that in admitting this, we necessarily concede any principle to our disadvantage. That portion of their lands which our convenience requires us to possess, will be placed no farther out of our reach than it is at present. When, in the construction of public works, the lands of minors are found so situated as to render it necessary for government to interpose, they know how to meet the exigency. The land is taken, and in lieu thereof, a fair price secured to the proper owner.

If some of the Cherokees, and others in the south, who have become capable of understanding and contending for their rights, not by arms, but by argument, should be disinclined to part with their lands, the circumstance would be no more vexatious to us did we admit their municipal right. Force is not to be used in this case. Whether this forbearance in our Government arises out of the questionableness of the tenure by which we claim, or out of the pledges which, in our "moderation," we have given those tribes, or from both, matters not; all righteous men agree that their lands cannot be forced from them.

Moreover, I hope to be able to show, that difficulties in relation to any of our north-western tribes, similar to those which have recently occurred with some of the southern, may easily and certainly be prevented; and that by admitting the legality of Indian title to their several territories, we shall place ourselves in full view, and within convenient reach, of all the means necessary to be employed in the case.



CHAPTER II.

The Character and Condition of the Indians.

It is remarkable that with the opportunities of more than two centuries to become acquainted with the Aborigines of our country, their character and condition should at all times have been so imperfectly understood by us. It is thought by some, whose judgments are doubtless entitled to great respect, that no other branch of public business is so little

understood, as that which relates to Indians. So little is known even by the benevolent Societies, which have been formed for their relief, that missionaries who labour among the natives, usually find far more trouble in managing the mistaken notions of their patrons, than they do in contending with those of the people of their charge. Without pretensions to any remarkable discoveries on this subject, I beg leave to state a few things relative to their character and condition, which my long residence in their country has afforded me an opportunity of observing.

I have supposed that Indian calamities, as they now exist, originated in their degradation, and have until this time been cherished by the same general cause. This is not a solitary case; the condition of the wretched Africans is fully in point, and strikingly illustrative of the position we have taken. No one will venture to say that the African is enslaved because of the blackness of his skin; neither can any man of sober mind, suppose the thing in itself to accord with the laws of justice between man and man. The fact is, Africa, that portion at least of which we speak, is too destitute of national character to command respect, and therefore, in the usage of other nations, its natives cease to be treated as human beings entitled to common rights.

Her oppression is not owing to a want of physical strength to contend with other nations. She is not the only nation incompetent to withstand the power of her neighbours; and yet the people of those weaker nations are not shipped by thousands for slave markets. Whatever Africa may suffer, she is incapable of *complaining*. Raise her in point of talent even with Portugal, and slave ships might as well go to Ireland to lade, as to Guinea.

Men as they come into existence are pretty much on an equality. Whether we find the infant in the bark wigwam, or in the lordly palace, it is subsequently that he is to be made the savage or the sage. For it is not a question at all, whether the mental faculties of Indians generally, are equal to those of their more enlightened neighbours. The fact is universally admitted. But with them, there being a total absence of the thousand means which operate to produce refinement of society, they continue unimproved through every stage of life. They are children of nature merely, from the infant lashed to the board, to the wrinkled father who bends over the tomb.

At first sight of Indians by Europeans, there became fixed in the latter a consciousness of superiority, which still exists, and is evinced in all our conduct in relation to them. We never meet an Indian on a level, as we meet a white man; we always look *down* upon him.

This self-complaisance may, in no small measure, be traced to the odium entailed on them by Europeans, and which, unfortunately, has not been removed by our better Government. They have neither been allowed the privileges granted to other foreigners, nor the protection granted to every citizen of the United States. Even the inhabitant of a cell in a States' prison retains inviolable his right in property—his posterity are not forbidden to aspire above the evils occasioned by the crimes of an unprincipled father. But of the Indian we say, he has no legal title to the soil. In this respect he is virtually placed beneath the condition of the most degraded of our own citizens. Were they allowed the rights of others, the feelings of our community generally might become such as we exercise towards other poor people, but it

seems impossible in the nature of things that the prejudices of society, so destructive to them, can subside, so long as the principle exists which confirms their degradation. Like Cain, they are driven out from the face of the earth, and are become fugitives and vagabonds in it, and *every one* who finds them, heaps upon them miseries according to the spirit of the times.

Few, even of those who declare themselves to be devoutly in favour of *Indian reform*, are aware of the extent of *Indian degradation*; I mean, the distance beneath us at which our feelings place them—or, of the extent of the affecting consequences. Of the latter, we may judge by the facts, that since our settlement in the country, several tribes have become totally extinct; while to others is left a remnant, languishing under evils, which menace the existence of the whole Indian population.

I attempt no exaggeration. My subject needs not the aid of painting. Facts, stubborn facts, immoveable as mountains, can be produced.

Before we proceed further, it is proper to observe, that there are many, very many, abuses of power, of office, and of granted license, in our intercourse with the Indians, which have never been fairly exhibited to the public; abuses, with which our Government is in no way chargeable: of which it is formally, and in most instances, totally unacquainted, and which I shall not attempt to expose. My object is not to attach blame to any individual, or to any particular class of men among us. For, were errors of this kind to be corrected, which indeed is desirable enough, still no more would be done, than the lopping off of some of the exterior branches, while the main body and roots would remain in full vigour. The axe must be applied to the root of the tree. From the days of Elliot down to the present time, the grand mistake in the business of Indian reform, seems to have been, applying emollients to the surface of the sore, instead of probing the wound to the bottom. There is something *among us*, not among the Indians, radically wrong in this business: this wrong *must* be righted, or the Indians must be ruined, and Christians reproached.

I would ask those sorrowful hearts, which express astonishment that the Indians on our north-western boundaries, should continue so long in this fertile, fine country, to suffer, pine, and perish; if they suppose any other race of human beings would do otherwise, under similar circumstances? Our children are forced up the elevation of improvement by artificial operations of a thousand kinds; but this machinery is not brought to bear in like manner on the improvement of the Indians. With all the pains taken to smooth our sons of nature, too many of them at last remain crooked and rough. No wonder then, if in the absence of vital principles, the experiment of Indian reform should disappoint our hope.

You have your missionaries at Gayhead, Stockbridge, Brothertown, Oneida, among the Tuscaroras, Tonawantas, Senecas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Puttawatômies, Miamies, &c. but the most that they can do in the present posture of affairs, is to soften, as it were, the pillows of the dying. They have been instrumental in benefiting a few; nevertheless, in a national capacity, all those tribes, as well as others near at hand, west of Lake Michigan, and west of Mississippi river, continue to dwindle—they are positively perishing, and perishing rapidly.

Through the instrumentality of your missionaries, some of the natives, no doubt, have become pious, and have gone, or will go, to a better country in the heavens, where their condition will be ordered by principles very different from those which have governed the conduct of men towards them, while upon earth. A few have acquired some knowledge of letters, and of labour; so far this is well. But let none imagine that these tribes, and many others, are, as tribes, improving their condition generally. I say it, without fear of contradiction, that their condition is becoming more and more miserable every year—I repeat it—*they are positively perishing*.

How can it be otherwise! What is there to induce a love of life, or to stimulate to good action, with an Indian? Whether the reflection be just or not, he views himself completely at the disposal of a people who have taken from him his country; I do not say his hunting ground, I say his *home*, where sleep his fathers back to unknown generations; a people who declare that he never had a legal right to the soil. In addition to this, he finds that no man treats him as an equal. The very manner of salutation to an Indian, and the mode of conversation with him, remind him that he is considered as an inferior.

You point your children to examples of respectability in civil society, and exhort them to walk in their footsteps, in the confident expectation of possessing that character which is rather to be chosen than gold and silver—than “precious ointment.” The Indian, in view of the same example, could only say, “My son, that is what the world calls a respectable, honourable man, but it is impossible for you ever to arrive at similar honours.” Thus from childhood the innate passion for fame, essential to human greatness, when kept within the influence of meekness and prudence, is stifled by every thing which surrounds it.

But one will say, Why do not the Indians adopt habits of industry; and the circumstance itself of the acquisition of property would operate powerfully to conquer the prejudices of their white neighbours, and might enable them to take hold on all the means essential to their greatness?

All this is true; but where is the spot on the continent upon which it could be expected that they would feel encouraged to labour? They are at best only tenants at the will of our Government. Where is the place on which they can erect houses in the hope of inhabiting them, and make fields in the expectation of being allowed to cultivate them? They can call no place on earth *their own*, and therefore it is not astonishing that they should generally be disinclined to habits of industry. None of the tribes have an assurance of undisturbed possession of any spot. If we ought to make an exception, it would relate to the little patches in New-York and the New-England States; and these, whatever may be their liberties to remain, are so situated as to be exposed to destroying evils by which their numbers are diminished much more rapidly than if they were upon our frontiers, where they would be allowed room to run, as the whites approached them.

I have said that among us, not among the Indians, there was something radically wrong in relation to that wretched people of whom we speak. In evidence of this assertion, I appeal to the fact that the condition of the Indians becomes more and more deplorable, as the whites approach nearer to them. Those who are pent up by the whites on small reservations in New-England, New-York, and Ohio, decline more

rapidly in proportion to their numbers, than the tribes farther west, on the borders of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois; and the decline of these latter is more rapid in proportion than those still more remote. Let it still be borne in mind, that wherever we discover a decrease of numbers, we see an increase of calamities; and *the increase* is not chiefly on account of the wild game being chased away by the sound of the white man's axe, as has sometimes been supposed. For were there not greater evils to which they are subjected; were they permanently settled, untouched by any morbid atmosphere emanating from us, they would naturally enlarge the field as the wild game decreased.

Numerous are the evils resulting to these people from the approach of the whites; (a poor commendation indeed of a christian nation) but perhaps all these evils may be traced to the same general cause—*the mark of infamy fixed upon them by the whites*. As to commerce, they are not approached as men entitled to just dealings, but are considered as fair game for every sharper. It is true, Government has made laws regulating Indian trade. But the trade is not carried on in Washington city, where the President of the United States can daily look into it. It is carried on in the Indian country, extending into the forest a thousand miles from our settlements. It is not possible for Government to guard the rights of the Indians in such situations; even in the little property they acquire in peltries and fur. Those generally, who are employed, as clerks, &c. and sent into the Indian country with goods, are not remarkable for scruples of conscience. Our chief hope, therefore, that justice in dealing will be done to the Indians, arises from competition in trade. We have not so much cause to complain of *prices* as nominally fixed, as we have of impositions practiced upon Indians, for which they can obtain no possible redress.

The example of unprincipled white men among the natives, is extremely pernicious, and tends greatly to debase their minds. But the destroying effects of ardent spirits among them, *is horrid in the extreme*. Whiskey, they find all over their country, but find it more plentifully as they are situated nearer to the white settlements.

In these latter cases, our Government is not at all blameable, only as it has rendered the Indians radically ignominious. It has made laws forbidding the introduction of ardent spirits into their country; but it has not power, in the present posture of affairs, to enforce their observance. The evils of intemperance have not been perceivably lessened by all the laws made to repress it. It is a lamentable truth, that the evil increases annually, and occasions a fearful waste of human life; as a specimen, take the following. In the fall and winter of 1825—6, in the neighbourhood of the Carey Missionary Station, near Lake Michigan, twenty-five Indians were either directly murdered by the hands of their own people, or otherwise *lost their lives, by drunkenness*.

Besides this, there is a mass of misery, indescribable in its character, resulting from this same source; such as the destruction of health, aggravated poverty, distresses of hundreds of half-starved children, &c. Missionaries, who, after much labour by precept and example, have kindled up a little spirit of improvement among the people of their charge, have, again and again, had the mortification to see the same almost entirely extinguished, by this irresistible evil. Under all the destructive, discouraging obstacles, arising from intoxication, and from numerous other sources, it is astonishing that missionaries should be

able to collect schools, secure a tolerable attendance, and in other respects, really improve the condition of a few.

Friends to the natives are apt to solace themselves, with the reflection that the days of war and bloodshed, between the United States and the Indians are past—all is now peace. The Indians may pursue their modes of living without the wastings and woes of war. But will you believe me, if I say, that the Indians generally are more miserable, and that they waste away faster, when at peace with us, than when at war? I presume there is no doubt of this fact with any one, who has an opportunity of discovering the process of Indian affairs among themselves. The truth is, the hope of bettering their condition for the present, for they cannot see far off, is a prominent consideration with them, in inducing hostilities.*

Our Government has always granted to the Indians peace, whenever they asked for it. Therefore, if at any time they believed their condition to be the worse for war with us, they knew that they could make the exchange for peace. In time of war, they and we are necessarily separated; and on this account the cankerous evils which result to them from coming into direct contact with us, are avoided.

I took the liberty, not long since, of suggesting that the condition of those small bands who are on little reservations in New-England, New-York, and Ohio, surrounded by white population, is worse than that of those who have more latitude on our frontier. It is probable that they may be more plentifully supplied with food and raiment, but I have no hesitation in repeating that their numbers decrease faster than those of the other tribes; and that they are more debased in principle, and positively more worthless, than those with whom I am comparing them. This sentiment is the result of my own personal observation, as well as of the concurrent testimony of the most authentic information.

Man is formed for society. The seclusion of the hermit is a departure from the directions of nature. Society we *must* have, and if we cannot be allowed that which is good, we must mingle with that which is worse. The society which Indians generally find among the whites, is that of the most degraded and worthless kind; and those who are pent up by the whites, feel the effect of this principle most sensibly. Even the good men, who surround and pity them, do not take them into their society as they would so many whites, under similar circumstances. Doomed, therefore, to mingle with their own corrupt selves, and the very filth of civilized society, from infancy to old age, and from generation to generation, they grow worse and worse.

What, let me ask the reader, could you hope for from your own sons and daughters, were they destined to be brought up in similar circumstances? What can be more deplorable than the condition of this scattered, peeled, and perishing people! When parents improve the passing moments around the cheerful fireside, in encouraging counsel to their hopeful sons and daughters, well fed and warm, let them not forget the thousands of families in the wilderness, each couched around a little fire, half-starved, half-naked, and homeless.

You are directing your children to habits of industry, by which they may secure a competency of the blessings of nature. They are to

* Exceptions to these remarks, when applied to the southern Indians, will be explained hereafter.

have fields and houses, shops and ships. To them are explained the comforts of virtue, and the pleasures of good society. To their view are held up the offices of trust, honour, and profit, in the most happy and flourishing government that ever existed. Now, you say, my sons and my daughters, with us there are no *privileged orders*. God and nature hold out to you these incentives to virtue, greatness, and happiness; over which is inscribed in golden capitals, "Whosoever will, let him take of them freely." Listen now, I entreat you, to the language of yon Indian father and mother, to their sons and their daughters. "Children, you see and feel our wretchedness this stormy night. You have no prospect before you, but that of increasing calamities. Our situation is more lamentable than was that of our father and mother, and yours is destined to be still more dreadful; and every generation of us, is doomed to sink deeper, and deeper, and deeper, in woes, until the last of our tribe sinks into the depths of oblivion. We are melting away before a people of superior wisdom and strength; who, with lordly looks, are striding over the lands on which have dwelt our fathers back to unknown ages, declaring us ineligible to a participation with them in the blessings which they so plentifully enjoy!"

What can we expect of a people under such circumstances, but that they give up all for lost, and like too many among us, who only fancy themselves in desperate circumstances, abandon themselves to drunkenness, and to every abomination? We do not pretend that all their poverty and sins have grown out of the circumstance of our becoming their neighbours. They were poor and wicked when we first beheld them. But we say, that their depravity and sufferings have been increased by our proximity to them, and their hopes cut off by our policy. They are too deeply sunk in the mire, to be able to extricate themselves. It therefore rests with us to say, whether they shall be left to perish, or whether they can be, and shall be, "taken out of the horrible pit, and miry clay, and set upon a rock, and their goings established;"—or rather, they established in a home which they can call *their own*.

It has been greatly the misfortune of Indians that their white neighbours have generally supposed them to be inflexibly attached to their huntings, and other wild customs.

To admit that Indians are attached to the modes of life to which they have been accustomed, and to their religious ceremonies, is saying nothing more than that they are human beings; for such is the case with all people. But there is scarcely a heathen nation upon earth, of which we might not, with more propriety, suppose that such attachments were inflexible. The Aborigines were never, since we became acquainted with them, worshippers of Idols. We all know that there exist among them religious ceremonies, which are taught by parents to children; but they have no ecclesiastical idolatrous establishments, like the Chinese, Burmese, or Hindoos. The Indians believe in the existence of God—the Great Spirit, and of other Good Spirits. They believe in the existence of evil spirits; among whom they suppose one, who deserves to be styled, the "very bad spirit."

These notions of God, and of his superintending providence, have had a tendency to ennoble their minds, as well as their acts, and to render them superior to most heathen nations in point of liberal views.*

* It has been stated by some good, but mistaken men, that the Osages did not believe in the existence of the Great Spirit, and in other kindred doctrines. Had this been true it would have formed an anomaly in the history of Indian character

Indeed, I think that, in a comparison of religious sentiments with the Indians, some refined people in christendom ought to blush at their own bigotted attachments. I suppose the natives have always been in the habit of killing witches; but I very much question if ever there was a man upon the continent chased out of his country, imprisoned, or whipped, for his religion, before the settlement of the whites in it.

We admit, that with all its hardships, there is something fascinating in the life of the hunter; the white man on our frontiers feels it. Yet it is certain that the attachment of the Indians to a hunter's life is not so obstinate but that they will voluntarily exchange it for a better, whenever they become situated where the love of life, and the hope of enjoyment, can be cherished in their bosoms. This has been the case with the Cherokees, and some others to the south who have adopted habits of civilized life.

It was not merely the diminution of the wild game which induced those southern Indians to abandon the chase, for hundreds of them are now decently farming on the west side of the Mississippi, contiguous to good hunting grounds. They have adopted civilized habits because of their superior advantages to the hunter state. These people have readily enough relinquished attachments to Indian habits, not because their prejudices were originally less obstinate than those of other tribes, but because they happened to be situated where their hopes of enjoying the fruits of their labours were more encouraging than those of their more unfortunate northern brethren.

To the concurrent testimony of all who are engaged in the labour of Indian reform, I add my own unqualified assertion, resulting from an experience of more than ten years actual residence in the Indian country, that there exists among our Indians no attachment to any pernicious manners or customs, that will not yield to sound argument, righteous example, and the offer of a better condition. I suppose that no heathen nation on the earth can be found, so easily accessible to all the customs which render civilized life blessed, and to the doctrines of the gospel, which guide to heaven, as the American Indians were, when Europeans first became acquainted with them. The entire absence of idolatry, of established forms of religion, to which all *must bend*, and their ideas of the existence of God, and I will add, of the sources of good and evil, threw the door of access to them wide open. Had they not at that time been trampled under our feet—had they been approached as *men*, entitled to meet their fellow men upon equitable terms—had they been greeted with the charities of our holy religion, our better things would have been received by them with open arms, and every tribe would have called us blessed.

In our northern districts, attempts were made in very early times, by worthy men, to reform the Aborigines. While we are happy in the

and manners. Since the first edition of this manual was published, I have been at most of the Osage villages, and I must say that no tribe with which I am acquainted gives more unequivocal evidence than they do, of belief in the existence of God, his superintending providence, and the immortality of the soul.

An inquirer seldom has the good fortune to understand the Indian's language, his modes of thinking, or his notions of decorum. The Indian generally hears questions as the result of mischievous design, of impertinence, or of stupidity. Against the first he cautiously guards, the second he insults, and with the last he sports. Hence his answers are usually insincere.

opinion that no effort for the christianizing of the Indians, was wholly unsuccessful, we must deeply regret, what we now distinctly perceive, that those well-meant labours were performed under all the disadvantages of blind European prejudices in relation to the Indians. Those pious hearts had too recently been transplanted from the sterile plains of religious bigotry, to expand with liberal views of the character, and of the just rights of man.

Missionaries in these days are enabled to profit by the days that are past. But now they find the prejudices of the natives exceedingly obstinate ; they have been matured by more than two hundred years, and cherished by a thousand considerations, each of which has annually grown heavier and heavier: after all, let it be borne in mind, that it is not inflexible attachment to the hunter state, or to other rude habits or ceremonies, of which missionaries complain. It is a want of confidence in the purity of our motives. The Indians feel themselves forsaken and friendless. The proffered hand of friendship has, a thousand times proved a snare, and the voice of kindness been deceptive. With what spirit remains to them from the ravages of dissipation and despair, they feel towards us, as we should feel towards invaders of our country and rights, who were fattened with plentitude, and basking in affluence, on the fields of our fathers, while we, with our ragged, half-starved offspring, stood soliciting the elm to lend us his coat to shelter us from the snow. But convince the Indians that you are true men, and not spies, that though they had thought the Great Spirit deaf to their groans, and all men had risen up against them, yet he does pity, they have some sincere friends, and they will leap for joy. Yes, I have seen them under such circumstances melted into tears. I have seen that their confidence swelled to extremes, and in their enthusiasm they were ready to deem the missionary more than an ordinary man.

Indians are not untameable. Give them a country as their own, under circumstances which will enable them to feel their importance, where they can hope to enjoy, unmolested, the fruits of their labours, and their national recovery need not be doubted. But, let the policy of our Government in relation to them, continue as it has been, and as it now is, and, with the exception of the Cherokees, and their immediate neighbours, I know of no tribe, nor part of a tribe, no, not one, within, or near to all the frontiers of Arkansaw, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, or Ohio, nor one of those bands on small reservations in New-York or New-England, of whom we can indulge any better hope than that of their total extermination. Even over those whom we have excepted above, a gloomy cloud is gathering, of which we shall speak hereafter.

I fear the public are not fully aware of this fact, especially the christian public, who would more especially shudder at the thought, and who have been hoping for better things. I fear, too, that missionaries are sometimes afraid to tell the worst of this part of the story, lest the benevolent societies and individuals at a distance, who patronize the missions, should become discouraged, and decline the prosecution of the undertaking. I know that there cannot exist with them, any sinister motive to such a forbearance, because their labours, the labours of their whole lives, are gratuitously devoted to this enterprise. But, they have been eye-witnesses of Indian wickedness and sufferings. They have heard fathers begging them to have mercy on them and their off-

spring, and entreating them not to forsake them; they have seen the mother digging roots for her children, and have beheld the emaciated frames of those who, in winter, had lived weeks upon acorns only, or who, in summer, had fed for days upon boiled weeds alone. They have heard the cries of children suffering with hunger, and seen the frozen limbs of the half-naked sufferer. Among these wretched people they have formed congregations, which delight to hear of "a better country," and with whom they unite in prayer and praise. They have collected scores of lovely children into their schools and families, who are taught to call them fathers and mothers, and to look to them as their best friends, without whose help they are undone. They have heard some of these children in secret prayer, covered with the mantle of night, upon their knees imploring the Lord God Almighty, to reward the kindness of their benefactors, to continue his mercies to themselves, and to pity their less favoured, their suffering kindred. Under these, and kindred considerations, missionaries dare not indulge a thought of forsaking the people of their charge. For them they will labour, in their sorrows they will sympathise, and among their tombs they will be buried. It is possible that, under the influence of such zeal for the temporal and eternal welfare of the Indians, missionaries may fear to tell what they think might be heard with discouragement by the patrons of missions. These are the reasons for the omission, if they have not fully advertized the public, that the tribes to which I have just referred, are perishing—are perishing. If there is any missionary among the tribes under consideration, who can say otherwise of the people of his charge, let him publish the fact, and I will rejoice that I have been mistaken, *and I will join him in hosannas to the Son of David.*

A brief recapitulation of the foregoing, furnishes us with the following summary:—Europeans brought with them to this country undue prejudices against the Aborigines; they viewed them as a contemptible race, undeserving the rights of nations or of men. The commencement of their career, in matters relating to the Indians, was radically wrong, and upon these wrong principles we have ever since acted. We cannot go back and undo the errors of two hundred years. We find a suffering people calling on us for sympathy and for justice, the peculiarities of whose condition give extraordinary weight to their claims upon both. These people, with few exceptions, are positively perishing, and perishing rapidly: They will inevitably be extirminated, unless we rescue them. The present course of kindness towards them, of our Government, of Societies, and of individuals, will not prevent their ruin, because they continue to sink deeper and deeper in woe.

To this summary we append the following inquiries. Do we possess ample means of placing this suffering people, in the enjoyment of the blessings of civilized life, as participated commonly by the citizens of the United States? Can these means be employed without injustice to ourselves, as a nation, in the present posture of affairs? To these questions I humbly, but very confidently, undertake to reply.

CHAPTER III.

In the claims of Indians to the soil, we find ample means for all the purposes of Indian reform.

I have already attempted to prove that the Indians *have a legal right* to the soil of the territories they inhabit, until the same be by them fairly transferred. We have admitted their incapacity to manage their own affairs; and have suggested the propriety of the United States assuming a guardianship of them; and that this should not be done, *at the expense of their just rights*. Admitting the legality of their claims to the soil, it follows that in the same they possess property, fully adequate to all the demands of the process of their reformation. This property can be applied to the relief of the Indians without taking one dollar from our treasury. Where then could be the loss to us? It would be loss, only in anticipation; one source of revenue to the United States would be lessened; namely, that from the sale of public lands. But the changing of the direction of this stream would be for the righteous purpose of allowing it to water the fields to which it does rightfully belong; and in so doing, we should no more than discharge a just debt, the payment of which we cannot withhold without violence to the better feelings of the human heart.

Admitting that the state of society and the policy of our Government imperiously require us hereafter to possess ourselves of large portions of Indian territory, yet neither the one nor the other requires us to deny to the Indians an equivalent. In the construction of public works, you take the land of the minor, because your convenience requires it; but you secure to him an ample remuneration. He is incapable of stipulating for the terms of this remuneration; therefore you do it for him. The Indians are, also, incapable of stipulating for profitable terms. It would become us to do this for them, and that too, by fixed and righteous rules.

At the treaty of Chicago, signed Aug. 29, 1821, held with the Puttawatomie, and parts of the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes of Indians, there were ceded to the United States, within the limits of Michigan Territory, 4,472,550 acres of land, and within the State of Indiana, 460,800 acres, making an aggregate of 4,933,350 acres.

Twelve and a half cents per acre, which amounts to the sum of \$616,668:75, we suppose to be sufficient to meet all the expenses of the treaty at which the purchase was made, and the expenses of surveying and preparing the land for market. The minimum price of Government land is \$1,25 per acre. At auction it often sells much higher. But on account of expenses of purchase, and of sales, and on account of unsaleable lands, our calculations reduce the real value, and say it is worth, clear of all expense or purchase, &c. sixty-two and a half cents per acre.* The purchase under consideration at this rate, is

* If it should occur to any one that our allowance for unsaleable lands is too small, I would remind him that we are not to calculate their amount from what is unsold. It is well known that millions of acres of valuable lands are now in mar-

worth to the United States, really, \$3,083,343:75. We therefore acquire, in this transaction, free of all costs, the very respectable sum mentioned above, which sum we can apply to the benefit of the Indians without taking a single sixpence from the property of any citizen of the United States. The people to be benefitted by this sum cannot exceed in number seven thousand souls.

In the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri, and in the territories of Arkansas and Michigan, the United States have acquired lands from the Indians to the amount of 214,219,865 acres. Let us moderate our calculations, and say the land is worth to us, clear of all expense, 50 cents per acre, we then have acquired in it a real property of \$107,109,932:50. Let it be observed, this sum has been acquired by purchases made within only nine States and Territories, out of twenty-six. And further, there yet remains in the States and Territories named, a considerable amount of land to which the Indian title has not been extinguished.

The above sum would have been worthy of our government in the work of Indian reform, and commensurate to all the exigencies of such an enterprise. Admitting that it is greater than would have been necessary, still it could *all* have been applied without *loss* to us; and in proportion as we diminish the amount to that which would have been actually required, we find a positive profit to ourselves.

While on this point, it might not be amiss to indulge a thought occasionally on the circumstance, that millions of acres of Indian lands have come into our possession without treaty, or the formalities of purchase or pay; and on the small amount, in the aggregate, which purchased the residue, in all the states not named above.

I do not pretend to say that any plan adopted now, ought to operate retrospectively. I have made the foregoing calculations, merely for the purpose of showing what might have been done, and what may be done in future, with entire convenience to us. There are yet millions, many millions of acres of valuable territory, which have not been ceded to the United States. It is their application only, to the benefit of the Indians, that we ask. I declare myself at a loss to conceive what reasonable objection any man could make to this measure.

Again, should the above be considered a sacrifice on our part, should it be considered too great a change in our policy in relation to the Indians, then, we would propose that they be allowed the use of those funds for a given time; say thirty years, and let the interest only of the stock be employed for their benefit. This would be, in itself, only allowing them the use of their lands for that period, with the express understanding that, at the expiration of the term, all their claims would be relinquished to the United States for ever. By the act which creates these

ket, unsold for no other reason than because the United States acquire lands of the Indians so frequently, and to such a vast extent, that great latitude is afforded to purchasers to stretch over the country in the selection of favourite spots, leaving behind them much valuable land, which, were it not for the reasons just now assigned, would soon yield to the United States the value of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

Again, let Government put all their unsold lands which are now in market, at seventy-five cents, and at fifty cents per acre, according to their comparative value, and your markets will presently be crowded with purchasers, and unsold lands will soon become scarce.

funds, we acquire the Indian territory ; from which they retire, leaving us the entire occupancy of the same. This, as I trust we shall learn in the sequel, would be vastly better for the Indians, than the actual occupancy of those lands for the same length of time. No objection, therefore, arises to our proposal from the consideration of their interests. And it will at first sight be abundantly obvious that the measure would be greatly more advantageous to the United States than to allow them to reside on those lands for that period.

Were we to allow them the interest only of the funds created by the sale of their lands, after paying all expenses thereon, occasioned by treaty, survey, &c. the proceeds of the treaty made at Chicago, in 1821, that is to say, the interest on \$3,083,343:75, at six per cent. per annum, would be \$185,000:62½. This annuity, as before stated, would be for the benefit of about seven thousand souls.

By the same calculation, the annual interest on the sum we found just now, created by the acquisition of Indian lands in nine States and Territories, to wit, the sum of \$107,109,932:50, would be \$6,426,595:95. Were we expending at this time the annual sum last mentioned, on only a portion of our Indians, we should be doing no more than paying them the interest of a debt which we justly owe, of the principal of which, our proposal does not solicit the payment.

At the time this manual was first published in 1827, a portion of the Puttawatomie tribe, in number about 3,500 owned, as was supposed, in Indiana and Michigan 5,000,000 of acres. This, at sixty-two and a half cents an acre, is worth \$3,125,000; the interest on which, at six per cent. per annum would be \$187,500.

Let us take another view of this subject. The Chippewas inhabit along the line between the United States and Canada; the greater portion of them on the Canada side. Let us leave them, and perhaps some others, entirely out of our present calculations; and on this account leave out so much of our north-western territory, as lies north of the forty-sixth degree of northern latitude. We will then suppose, upon a safe calculation, that we still have remaining in the north-western territory, that is, south of the forty-sixth degree of latitude, and north of the State of Illinois, and west of lake Michigan, and east of the Mississippi river, 45,000,000 of acres. Suppose there is yet, as was the case in 1827, within the States of Illinois and Indiana, and the Territory of Michigan, 10,000,000 of acres of Indian land, not ceded to the United States, which, added to the 45,000,000 mentioned above, make 55,000,000 of acres. This, at the rate of sixty-two and a half cents an acre, would be worth to us, free of all cost, \$34,375,000. The interest on which, at six per cent. per annum, would be \$2,062,500. The tribes to be benefitted by the above sum are Ottawa, Puttawatomie, Winebago, Menominee, Sauk, and Fox.

The plan under consideration will not suffer at all by the supposition that all these lands could not, at once, be turned into profitable stock, for neither would the process of Indian reform require it. The lands of course would be obtained from the natives from time to time, as would best suit the convenience of our Government. There would also be a space of time in each case, between the ceding of it to the United States, and the actual application of nett profits on the same to the use of the Indians. But each case provides for itself. The benefit would commence and increase with the beginning and growth of

the nett profits thereon. And if, as our plan proposes, the profits to the Indians shall be limited to a certain number of years, that period would be fixed according to the commencement of the emolument, and in proportion to the sum that would be of necessity advanced for the purpose of so disposing of the Indians, as to enable the United States to settle the land without inconvenience to the former. Still the amount of profit to the Indians, for the property under consideration, would ultimately be the same. Without doubt, the revenue would commence, and would increase on a scale sufficiently large to meet the necessities of any civilizing operations that our Government might choose to adopt.

The same calculations will apply, with similar advantage, less or more, to the Miamies, and to all others on small reservations in Ohio, New-York, and New-England, and others on our borders, and who might require our attention, west of the Mississippi river.

Take particular notice—the sum just stated, would be provided at no higher expense to us than what would be tantamount to allowing the Indians to remain on their lands the aforementioned term of thirty years, and then relinquishing them to us for ever, without any further consideration. The question, therefore, turns upon this single hinge—Can we afford the Indians the use of those lands for thirty years, upon the consideration that they shall ever afterwards be ours, admitting that they may enjoy such use, or its equivalent, without remaining in the way of our settlements, or of our business? This being admitted, we take possession of the lands immediately, and instead of allowing them a residence thereon, apply to their use, for the same term of time, the interest of a supposed real stock which we would have in the said lands.

What reasonable objection could we raise, to allowing the Indians to enjoy the benefits of their lands a few years longer, when we should, in the mean time, derive all the advantages of settling on those lands?

If our Government should choose positively to invest the stock under consideration, then there would be at the end of these years, belonging to the United States, not only the country itself, but also a disposable fund of \$34,375,000. This, we must recollect, is only one verse in the chapter. The calculations which have led us to this fund, include only the Indians south of the 46th degree of northern latitude, east of the Mississippi river, skirting for its southern limits the northern parts of Illinois and Indiana, and extending a little distance into Michigan Territory, east of Lake Michigan. All others, with their millions of territory, have been left out of our calculations.

Further, if it be necessary to make the matter still more favourable on our part, let us suppose that in the operations of our present policy, some of those northern tribes will occupy their present places fifteen years, before the United States will have extinguished the whole of their claims, and the few who will be alive, shall have fled to some more remote district, according to the ordinary fate of the Indians; still, during the whole of this term of time, they are in our way, to the great annoyance of the settling of the country. But, let us suppose that the plan under consideration would remove them in five years; this would secure to us the earlier occupancy of ten years, of the country in question. This would be placing in our hands, the stock contemplated, ten years sooner than we should otherwise realize it, which would be equal to the payment of ten years' interest to the Indians for the same term which they

would otherwise have occupied their lands. Or, in other words, it would be equal to a deduction of ten years, from the term of the thirty years, which we have supposed the interest would be payable to them.

The advantages which this view of our subject discloses, must go far in the recommendation of our plan. I trust we shall be able to make it appear, that our plan is of a character to justify the above conclusions; not in exact proportion of time, as mentioned above, nevertheless, in a proportion more or less favourable, of which, the above calculation will be found illustrative.

It is but justice to our scheme to state, which I do with a good degree of confidence, that by it a current annual expenditure of the United States, on about the section of country which we have last had under consideration, without benefit to the Indians, of at least \$65,200, will be turned into the account of positive advantage to the natives, or not be expended at all. And also, that another item of current annual expenditure of \$66,531, may be diminished more than one half.

The first item alluded to, of \$65,200, is the aggregate of annuities paid to those Indians within the district under consideration. There has been a lamentable waste of public treasure upon Indian treaties;* and I as confidently assert, that there is a lamentable waste of public moneys in Indian annuities. Our Government is not in the habit of taking their lands for nothing. But it is extremely doubtful whether the thousands of dollars annually paid to the Indians, as matters are, render them any service. My own opinion is, that all things considered, their annuities are worse than useless. No person could have been more favourably situated for arriving at a just conclusion on this point than myself. Having been actually among them for ten years, I am well acquainted with their circumstances both before and after receiving annuities; and declare that I have found no reason for inclining to a different opinion from that just now expressed. I am inclined to believe that there are few, if any, Indian Agents, who are of a different opinion.

Indians usually waste much of their annuities on ardent spirits. The occasion of receiving their pay collects them together into large bodies, and exposes them to greater excesses. In 1821, eight murders among themselves occurred at and near to Fort Wayne, before they left the neighbourhood where their moneys had been paid to them. In the same year, 1821, a few days after the close of the treaty of Chicago, when of course they had the means of procuring whiskey, seven persons, of both sexes, were murdered among themselves, on the same ground, in the course of twenty-four hours. If our conclusion, that the annuities paid to the Indians, do them an injury rather than a service, it becomes exceedingly desirable to put a stop to this expenditure; or rather to direct its application to the positive benefit of the natives, according to the design of our Government. That these annuities may be thus applied, I believe, will be admitted by all who dispassionately consider the subject.

Some pledges lately given, that it would appear that our plan provides for the earlier removal of the Indians which are found in our way, than

* This remark is not intended to criminate the officers of our Government, who negotiate treaties, and perform other similar services. Those men proceed according to their instructions. The error is in the policy of the Government.

can be hoped for from existing measures, and also provides for the abridgement of an annual expenditure which at this time amounts to about \$66,531, I hope to redeem a few pages hence.

Should it be asked, Why it is desirable to create a larger fund for the benefit of the Indians, if what we have already bestowed upon them has been wasted, and worse than wasted? I answer, an increase of funds, to be applied in a similar way, is not desirable. That is, to put cash into their hands, or to put blankets on their backs. In the two cases the result is about the same. If you give them clothing, or the means necessary for hunting, there are persons ready to buy the same for whiskey and trifles, and to shop up the very same articles to sell to the Indians afterwards, for peltries and fur.

There are two items of annual expenditure of Government on the Indians which have not been wasted or lost. The first is, the annual appropriation of \$10,000, specially for purposes of Indian reform.— This sum has been placed by Congress at the disposal of the President of the United States. The latter has determined to apply it, not in *hiring* men to go among the Indians to civilize them, because in many instances he would unwittingly appoint unsuitable persons; but he has determined to apply it in conjunction with benevolent Associations, who have embarked with zeal and christian prudence in the work of civilizing and evangelizing the Indians. A more judicious regulation, both as it regards Congress and the President, could not be made. In this arrangement, we have the best security for the just and useful application of these funds, of which the imperfection of man admits. Take as an explanation of the whole, the details of the case as it exists within the superintendency of Indian agency, at Detroit, Michigan Territory.

Schools are established in the Indian country, actually among them. At these establishments youths are taught letters, and labour, both domestic, agricultural, and mechanical; and, in a word, whatever is necessary for the improvement of Indian condition. The men, (and the women too) who are employed to manage these establishments, are regular members of Christian churches, and are accountable to the same for their conduct. There are, also, special agents of religious benevolent Associations, formed in various parts of the United States, for the express object of promoting purposes of benevolence. These Associations are composed of men of the first standing in society. They are indeed the select men of the different religious denominations. To these Societies and Associations, the missionaries are accountable. The services of the missionaries are all gratuitous. This circumstance has a powerful tendency to exclude all temptation to abuse their trust. To the Societies under whose patronage they generally labour, they account annually, semi-annually, or quarterly, as the case requires. In addition to this, the Society orders as often as it deems it expedient, a special and competent Agent to visit the establishments, and to report the condition of the mission.

The missionaries are also required to report annually to the President of the United States. In addition to all this, an Agent is appointed by the President of the United States, to visit annually, the several establishments, and to report. All these reports to the Societies, and to the Government, are either published to the world, or are left open for examination at any time. Thus guarded, we may safely calculate that these funds will be applied to the very *best advantage*. And thus far

we are very bold in the assertion, in every instance of the application of any portion of them, blessings to the poor savages have sprung up, and have caused the wilderness to resound with songs of joy.

The second item of public expenditure on the natives, which is profitably employed for them, is the amount arising from special stipulations in treaties for education purposes; stipulations, in the spirit of the case, perfectly in accordance with the doctrine we have advanced. These funds, like the direct appropriations of Congress, are placed at the disposal of the President, who wisely directs their application through the same channel as the former.



CHAPTER IV.

The only feasible Plan for reforming the Indians, is that of colonizing them.

HAVING arrived at a certainty of the fact that we have at our disposal more than ample means for the accomplishment of all the purposes of Indian reform; means, too, which can be applied without disadvantage to us, and probably, to our own positive profit; it now becomes us to inquire, *What plan will most likely be successful in accomplishing the reformation of the Indians?*

Without ceremony, I offer for consideration the plan recommended to the wisdom of Congress by Mr. Monroe, late President of the United States, and highly commended in a Report of Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, on which the first resolution was moved in that respectable body by Mr. Conway, of Arkansas, which was afterwards happily amended by Mr. Barbour, Secretary of War, and which has since been called up to the consideration of Congress by gentlemen whose remembrance will be grateful to the enlightened Indian, and to the friends of Indian reform, while history lives to tell of generous deeds.*

This plan proposes the concentration of all the tribes in some suitable portion of country, under such guardianship of our Government as shall be found conducive to their permanent improvement; together with the guaranty, on the faith of the United States, of said country to them and to their posterity *for ever*.

We have already discovered to a certainty, that some measures more efficient than those heretofore employed, *must* be adopted, or the Indians *must perish*. Increase the appropriations for their reform, and the operative means of improvement will take a wider range; but leave the Indians situated as they have been, and as they now are, and they will, nevertheless, pine away and die. We may theorize by our firesides, but facts will speak for themselves. The policy which has been pursued with the Aborigines for about 200 years, is to pen them up on small reservations, or to encourage them to retire farther back into the forests. Now if ever one tribe of Indians has flourished under the circumstance of either of these situations, we will hope that the like may happen again. But if such an event has never occurred, we may confidently assure ourselves that it never will.

* Since the publication of the first edition of this Report, we have been informed that Col. Thomas Benton, of Missouri, moved the consideration of this subject in Congress, prior to the resolution submitted by Mr. Conway.

Objections to our long continued policy are not merely of a negative character, such as to say, "those tribes do not thrive;" but, our objections say *positively*, that the policy is *ruinous*, and that it has never, in a single instance, failed, and never, in a single instance, will fail, to be prolific in fatal consequences to the Indians. Several tribes have become totally extinct, and of some, scarcely the remembrance exists.—Others, once numerous and powerful, are now reduced to a few dozens, or less, of poor, miserable, worthless beings; and the condition of all such is becoming more and more pitiable every year. The degrees of declension and misery are in a regular gradation from those tribes which have a dying remnant, up to those who are but just beginning to melt down by the approach of the whites. We could easily point to particular instances of the rapidity of decline, and of its alarming extent; but this would be consuming time in proof of what is clear to demonstration to all who are acquainted with the history of the Indians.

We are now admonished, in terms clear and distinct, the language of well-known facts, *what we ought not to do*. The question, therefore, presents itself singly, *What ought we to do?* Let the history of the Cherokees and their neighbours, teach us.

These people have been allowed to occupy a situation similar to that contemplated in the colonizing plan, under consideration. So far as the circumstances of their situation have been in accordance with the spirit of the proposed plan, so far those tribes have thriven. By all the circumstances in which there has been a departure from the spirit of our plan, has their improvement been retarded.

These tribes have been permitted to live where, in some degree, they could cherish a spirit of national ambition. They have felt themselves somewhat at home. They owned a tract of country, sufficiently large, to allow them to feel their importance as a people. Notwithstanding the United States had not acknowledged their claims to soil to be legal, like those of the citizens of the United States, yet such were their circumstances, that they felt less apprehension of being removed, than others of whom we have spoken. They were neither running before the advance of white population, nor pent up on a little spot by a people with whom they could not associate upon an equality. They were so situated as to feel the force of incentives to improvement. They could witness the prosperity of the whites, and hope, that, by imitating their example, they might arrive at similar excellence. Not by mingling with the whites—it was among themselves alone, that they could find the salutary mediocrity of society. Happily for them, they had latitude to think, to hope, and to act. Such a situation, though materially better, being far less affected by the prejudices, and by all the evils resulting from the contiguity of the whites, *does our colonizing scheme offer "to those who are ready to perish."*

The improved condition of these people not only demonstrates the practicability of Indian reform, but also declares, as on housetops, that we have always been in error with respect to the inveteracy of Indian habits. We now know that if Indians are favourably situated for improvement, they will improve themselves. The work of civilization among the Cherokees appears to have been commenced by themselves; and, by themselves, without assistance from the whites, carried forward to a very hopeful and happy extent. With the exception of a well-meant, but limited effort of the United Brethren, who were very worthy men, it was

not until the year 1803 that any thing like efficient missionary labours were commenced among them. Even these labours were on a limited scale, and soon discontinued. In the year 1817 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions commenced their successful career in that country. And it was still later that the Baptist Board of Missions formed an establishment in the eastern part of the nation. At this time they were comparatively a civilized people.

It appears that these people had made great improvement in the arts of civilized life, many years prior to 1803. "In 1806, they had assumed, to a greater extent, not only the habits, but even the form of government of a civilized nation. At a kind of national meeting, they formed a constitution, chose a legislative body, and passed a number of laws, among which, was one act imposing taxes for public purposes." In 1810, it is said their number was 12,395. There were in the nation 583 negro slaves, 19,500 cattle, 6,100 horses, 19,600 hogs, and 1,037 sheep. They had in actual operation 13 grist mills, 3 saw mills, 3 salt-petre works, and one powder mill. They had 30 wagons, between 480 and 500 ploughs, 1600 spinning wheels, 467 looms, and 49 silver-smiths. Circulating specie was supposed to be as plenty among them, as was common among the white people of the neighbouring countries. On their roads they had many public houses, and on their rivers convenient ferries. Many of them were learning different trades according to their particular inclinations.*

As a further illustration of their improved state, take the following extract from their national Committee and Council, published in the *Columbian Star*, at Washington, March 11, 1826. I give the following resolutions as they were passed among themselves, and written down with their own hands.

"Resolved by the national Committee and Council, that an agent or agents shall be appointed to solicit and receive donations in money, from individuals or societies through the United States, for the purpose of establishing and supporting a national Academy, and for procuring two sets of types, and a press for a printing office, to be established at Newtown, in the Cherokee nation.

"Be it further resolved, that the treasurer be, and he is, hereby authorized to apply \$1500, out of the public funds towards the objects herein specified." This press is now in operation, and issues a weekly newspaper.

To the foregoing evidences of the improved and flourishing condition of the Cherokees, I add extracts from the letter of David Brown, a Cherokee, written by himself at Willstown, (Cherokee nation,) Sept. 2, 1825, addressed to the editor of the *Family Visitor*, at Richmond, Virginia.

"These plains [in the Cherokee country] furnish immense pasturage, and numberless herds of cattle are dispersed over them. Horses are plenty, and are used for servile purposes. Numerous flocks of sheep, goats, and swine, cover the valleys and hills. On the Tennessee, Ustanala, and Canasagi rivers, Cherokee commerce floats. In the plains and valleys the soil is generally rich, producing Indian corn, cotton, tobacco, wheat, oats, indigo, sweet and Irish potatoes. The natives carry on a considerable trade with the adjoining States, and some of them export cotton in boats down the Tennessee to the Mississippi, and down

* See Brown's *Hist. of Missions*, 1st American Edition, Vol. 2, p. 505.

that river to New-Orleans. Apple and peach orchards are quite common, and gardens are cultivated, and much attention paid to them.— Butter and cheese are seen on Cherokee tables. There are many public roads in the nation, and houses of entertainment kept by natives.— Numerous flourishing villages are seen in every section of the country. Cotton and woollen cloths are manufactured here. Blankets of various dimensions manufactured by Cherokee hands are very common. Almost every family in the nation grows cotton for its own consumption. Industry, and commercial enterprise, are extending themselves in every part. Nearly all the merchants in the nation are native Cherokees. Agricultural pursuits, (the solid foundation of our national prosperity,) engage the chief attention of the people. Different branches in mechanics are pursued. The population is rapidly increasing. In the year 1819, an estimate was made of all the Cherokees. Those on the west were estimated at 5,000, and those on the east of Mississippi at 10,000 souls. The census of this division of the Cherokees has again been taken within the current year, [1825] and the returns are thus made:— Native citizens, 13,563—white men married in the nation, 147—white women, do. 73—African slaves, 1,277. If this summary of Cherokee population from the census is correct, to say nothing of those of foreign extract, we find that in six years, the increase has been 3,563 souls.— National pride, patriotism, and a spirit of independence, mark the Cherokee character. Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Moravians, are the most numerous [religious] sects [in the nation.] Some of the most influential characters are members of the church, and live consistently with their professions. Schools are increasing every year; learning is encouraged and rewarded. The female character is elevated and duly respected. Indolence is discountenanced. We are out of debt, and our public revenue is in a flourishing condition. Our system of government, founded on republican principles, by which justice is equally distributed, secures the respect of the people. Newtown is the seat of government. The legislative power is vested in a national Committee and Council. Members of both branches are chosen by and from the people, for a limited period. In Newtown a printing press is soon to be established; also, a national library and a museum.”

In view of the preceding facts, it is presumed that none will hesitate to admit that the Cherokees are a *civilized* people. They have among them men of classical education, and of refined manners. It is not pretended that every individual deserves the appellation of *civilized*, neither does every individual whom we claim as a citizen of the United States merit the title.

No one more reveres the character, or admires the valuable labours of the devoted missionaries who have aided the Cherokees, than I do. We make honourable mention of the excellent Moravian missionaries, and of the worthy Mr. Blackburn; but both these efforts have been too limited to have a sensible bearing upon the condition of the nation. I must say, it was neither missionaries, nor our benevolent Government, that taught those people to raise cattle, sheep, and swine; to build houses, plant orchards, make roads, establish ferries, and houses of public entertainment; to plough and reap, to spin and weave; to establish a form of civil government, regulated by a code of wholesome laws, &c. These, and similar blessings, they had acquired prior to any efficient efforts, either on the part of benevolent societies, or of our Government,

for the melioration of their condition. Recently, benevolent societies, and our Government, have very happily contributed to the progress of improvement among these people; but their aid has been chiefly in the matters of education and religion.

I have long wondered that the fact, that the Cherokees had climbed to their present elevation in the scale of civilization, without assistance from any other people, except the little lately afforded them, should have been so generally overlooked, by those who wrote and spake of them. The omission is calculated to lead us into error in the matter of Indian reform; and I have no hesitation in saying, that it has already produced this effect; or rather, it has cherished old established errors in relation to this subject. So long as the public are impressed with the belief, that the Cherokees have been brought from the savage to the civilized state, by means of civilizing agents which have been sent among them, nothing else is dreamed of in relation to other Indians, than the employment of similar means alone. They seem to forget that ever since the year 1646, the time that Elliot commenced his ministry among the natives, we have been labouring for some of the more northwardly tribes, and that they have, all the while, been perishing under our hands. They act as if wholly ignorant of the fact, that the Cherokees have acquired their greatness in the absence of the very remedies which alone they seem inclined to apply to the relief of others. Doubtless, it would have been fortunate for the Cherokees, if they had, all along, been amply supplied with civilizing agents. Their progress in the arts of civilized life would have been greatly facilitated by such auxiliaries; but they can be considered, in the work of Indian reform, nothing more than *auxiliaries*. Benevolent Societies and Government may unite in the employment of those auxiliaries, and yet the people perish—place the Indians in a situation favourable to their improvement, yet leave them to encounter the inconvenience of the absence of those auxiliaries, and they will, nevertheless, civilize themselves.

Every one can easily perceive, notwithstanding the above observations, that in the present state of our country and of the Indians, agents for civilizing and evangelizing them, (for the work ought always to be thus blended,) are most desirable to the accomplishment of our undertaking; and I do heartily wish that every one could, also, as distinctly perceive what to me appears no less plain, that unless we colonize these people, and place them in circumstances similar to those of the Cherokees, they will inevitably perish.

Let it be borne in mind that I am not now theorizing; I am stating plain matters of fact, which speak for themselves—the language of which I think cannot be misunderstood by any one. The inferences I have made are such as all must admit.

With the improvement of outward circumstances has been the actual increase in *numbers* of the Cherokees. This is as we might expect it, and the fact serves still further to develop the causes of decrease of those with whom we are contrasting them.

Can any thing in nature be more plain and convincing, than the striking contrast between the miserable wretches on small reservations, or those on our frontiers, not one of five hundred of whom own either cattle, sheep or swine, and not one of ten thousand of whom own either mill, spinning-wheel, or loom, house, or furniture;—and those flourishing countries, towns, and villages, which are inhabited by the Cherokees?

A thousand sayings might be added corroborative of the preceding remarks, and in support of the conclusions which force themselves upon our judgment; but our object is doubtless attained. There is but one mode of reasoning in the case—that is, so long as Indians remain under the circumstances of the one, they must dwindle; when placed in circumstances similar to the other, they will thrive. For the latter and more favourable situation, the colonizing plan, and that alone, provides. The causes of the opposite processes are not obscure. The one is sunk into the depths of degradation, and has before it no prospects to cherish hope, and a spirit of improvement—while precisely the reverse is happily the case with the other.

The colonizing plan contemplates the elevation of the Indian character. The degradation stamped on them by our first acts towards them, is to be removed by the very first step to be taken in the measure. We denied the legality of their title to the soil. We are now to assign them a country, and to say to them in the language of truth, never to be revoked, *this is yours—yours for ever*. This will be beginning precisely where we ought to begin, at the very point where the evil began, and which has been the seat of disease ever since.

The colonizing plan proposes to place the Aborigines on the same footing as ourselves; to place before them the same opportunities of improvement that we enjoy, and the same inducements to improve those opportunities. The result, therefore, cannot be doubtful. The colony would commence and improve, much after the manner of all new settlements of whites, which have been begun and carried forward, under favourable circumstances. Improvements in houses, fields, &c. would at first be rude and ordinary, but every succeeding year would add to their value, and would increase the number of domestic animals, and the comforts of life in general. Schools would be established among them for the instruction of their youth, which, on account of the poverty of the parents, as well as their ignorance of the advantages of education, would, at the commencement, be charity schools. As the state of society would improve, the calls for charity would diminish, until children, when receiving an education, could be supported by their parents. As by the acquisition of property, the necessity for hunting would be superseded, and they rendered stationary within reach of the schools, the attendance of the youths would be additionally secured. While, at the same time, both old and young would be kept constantly within the sphere of instruction, in morality, literature, and labour. As circumstances might require, schools of a higher order would be established, and the number of natives qualified to fill every department in an improving community, in the house, the field, the shop, the school, the state, and the church, would annually increase.

Experience has taught us that a fruitful source of obstacles to Indian reform exists in the community of right in property, which prevails to too great an extent among the Indians. In cases in which the comfort of society requires the blending of property in common, we often find it divided, and vice versa. The husband and the wife, for instance, have their separate claims to their property; and the husband would almost as soon think of selling the horse of his neighbour, without leave, as that of his wife; while their lands, in which the individuality of right, except in the case last stated, ought to be identified, are held in common by all.

This community principle, intrudes itself into the domestic and daily comforts of society, to the serious disadvantage of the whole. An indolent, worthless fellow, who will not grow a hill of corn, will, day after day, sponge his more industrious countryman, as long as the latter has remaining any portion of the fruit of his industry. Thus it often happens that the most idle and improvident, live almost as plentifully as the more industrious, to the encouragement of the one in indolence, and to the discouragement of the other in industry.

In the colony, a section of land, of proper dimension, would be marked off to each individual, as his *own*, under certain regulations securing his right against the intrusions to which his imperfect judgment would expose him. This circumstance could not fail to teach him to identify property and individual claims, in all cases where the happiness of society requires it. A man could say, This land is my own, and would readily infer his supreme right to all its proceeds. The right of husband and wife being blended in their land, they would rationally be led to make a common interest in all property, as well as in labour, joy, and sorrow; while incentives to industry and economy would present themselves to them, and to their rising posterity, from a thousand sources.

Laws for the regulation of the community, would be provided by the United States' Government.* These at first would be few and plain, in proportion only to the wants of the case. In judicial, as well as all other transactions in the community, the natives themselves would be employed, so far as persons could be found possessing the requisite qualifications.

Being concentrated, instead of dispersed over thousands of miles, trade and intercourse with the whites, could be regulated and maintained upon just and equitable principles. Ardent spirits could be effectually barred out of their country. In a word, all those local evils which are at present frittering away to nothing these wretched people would be avoided, and the advantages which are raising the Cherokees to greatness, would be enjoyed. The logical conclusion, therefore is, *the result would be favourable*.

Here let us remark, that the Cherokees, to whose improvement we appeal with so much confidence and pleasure, are acquiring their character and comforts amidst a pressure of opposing obstacles. The evils resulting from Indian degradation in the estimation of the whites, from the denial of their legal claim to the soil, &c. reach them also in a lamentable degree. Yet like men who could not brook the miseries of a prison, they are, with Herculean courage, breaking their fetters asunder, and extricating themselves from a labyrinth of woes. The colonists under consideration would be placed in circumstances far more favourable to their improvement, than have been those of the Cherokees; consequently the improvement of the former would be proportionably more rapid than has been that of the latter. What then follows? These miserable Indians, gathered from their wretched abodes, in which they had been perishing, and placed in "a good land," a land acknowledged to be *their own*, removed from all the baleful causes of their former calamities, and possessed of all the means which have given character and consequence to their countrymen and kindred, the Cherokees, not the slightest probability forbids our confident

* See this subject considered again in Chapter vi.

expectation that they will be lifted up from the dust, to the enjoyment of comforts similar to those possessed by ourselves, and that they will be prepared to call those blessed who wiped away their tears.

The plan of colonizing the Indians promises to relieve us from all the inconveniences arising from their hostilities; from unwholesome sentiments which foreigners have an opportunity of instilling into their minds; from their residence among us on small reservations, where they have become a nuisance to society; and from the great embarrassment which we feel, when a few, better informed than their fellows, come out boldly, and plead their right to the soil, and appeal to the justice, humanity, and strength of the United States, for the defence of their claims. *Had the colonizing plan been adopted fifty years ago*, all the perplexing difficulties which have recently occurred with our southern Indians, on the subject of their claims, would have been prevented. It is to be hoped that our Government will foresee, in this proposed design, the remedy, and the only remedy, of evils which are otherwise likely to exist, and to multiply to the sad inconvenience of both the white and red people.

Some objections to the colonizing plan, can be more properly replied to, when we shall have completed our inquiries relative to the most eligible situation for the colony. I will also add, that the suitableness of a situation will increase the weight of every argument which we have advanced in favour of the design.



CHAPTER V.

The most eligible Situation for the Colony is west of the Territory of Arkansas and the State of Missouri, and south-west of Missouri river.

OUR next inquiry should be, Where shall we find the most eligible situation for the colony? Notwithstanding the people of the United States have spread over such a vast extent of territory which was once solely the abode of Indians, yet we consider it fortunate for our subject, that we possess much evidence in favour of the opinion, that the most favourable position for colonizing the Indians, that our territories ever afforded, remains at this time unoccupied by us. Obviously no part of our sea-coast ever could have been, nor ever can be, spared for such a purpose. In point of commercial advantages the shores of our Lakes on the north, are second only to our sea-coasts on the east and south, and do, therefore, for the same reasons, forbid them a home on their borders. Place them any where in the interior of our country, where they will be surrounded by white population, and they will be still more in our way, than if placed on one of our borders just mentioned. Aside from vexation to us, their residence in the midst of white population would be the source of much evil to them.

The North Western Territory has been spoken of as a suitable place for the colonizing of the Indians. But the whole of that, with the ex-

ception of the cold, wet regions, at the very sources of the Mississippi, must soon become a most valuable portion of the Union. It doubtless embraces a great deal of fertile soil, and all our maps tell us that the region is uncommonly well provided with water for navigable purposes. The tide of emigration of the people of the United States, is at this time pressing rapidly towards it; and I am confident that it cannot be stopped on this side of it. Place them on the extreme northern limits of the territory, and they would be immediately adjoining Canada. Bring them down to the southern part, and they would soon be surrounded by the whites; as much so as if they had been located in the state of Indiana. Carry them farther, and set them down between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and our objections still extend to them, though, we acknowledge, with less force as it respects the valuableness of country, and the speedy approach of white population.

Along the vast chain of the snow-topped Andes, or Rocky Mountains, nature has spread, on each side, a barren desert, of irreclaimable sterility. To what extent this sandy desert spreads to the west of those Mountains, and what exceptions to its barrenness may occur, we have not the means of knowing. Dr. James allows it an average width, on the east side of the mountains, of between 500 and 600 miles. We are pretty confident, however, that that part of it which will be found to be irreclaimable by industry, will be far less than the above estimate makes it. We shall be safe in supposing the uninhabitable desert to be at least between three and four hundred miles in width. Add to this the regions of the mountains, and the desert on the west, and we have an uninhabitable region of five or six hundred miles in width, certainly, (with the exception of a few inconsiderable valleys within the region of the mountain itself) and extending south and north into the Mexican, and British territories.

This vast region is not termed a desert, merely on account of the partial, or entire, absence of timber, but chiefly because the soil itself is of a quality that cannot be rendered productive by the industry of man. No portion of our territories furnish so few inducements to civilized man to seek in it a dwelling-place, as that under consideration.

This wide desert must for ever form an important border to our white settlements within the valley of the Mississippi; especially so, when we consider that the streams on each side lead *from* the mountains, and so far are calculated to direct commerce from this region, rather than to, or through it. Add to the foregoing considerations the impracticability of navigating most of the streams in the desert, as for instance the Platt, and the entire impossibility of canalling in that thirsty region, destitute of clay and stone, and we are assured that our conclusions are correct.

From observation, and information derived from others on which I can rely, I suppose that soil and timber will admit of settlement about 200 miles west of Arkansas Territory, and the State of Missouri. We propose that above the western line of Missouri, the Missouri river shall be the boundary of the Indian territory on the north-east and north, as far as the mouth of Puncah river; thence up Puncah river as far as the country is habitable. By this we describe a country about 600 miles in length, between the latitudes of about 33° and 43° , and 200 miles in width. Farther west we may suppose the country to be uninhabitable. This country is generally high, healthy and rich, its extent adequate to the purposes under consideration, and the climate desirable. Thus si-

tuated, with the desert in their rear, with no important navigable stream leading into their country, but precisely the reverse, with no inducements in the sterile plains behind them to tempt the enterprise of white men, the colony would be on an *outside* of us, and less in our way than could have been imagined, had not nature thus marked the boundaries for us. I cannot conceive why we may not relinquish to them this country, and assure them that it shall be *theirs for ever*.

We admit that there is a scarcity of timber generally throughout the district we have described. It contains, however, abundance of coal, and experience in all prairie countries, in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, tells us, that where there is not a defect in the soil itself, the timber will improve both in quantity and in quality, with the settlement of the country; because the grazing of cattle, &c. opposes the annual fires which sweep over those grassy countries to the great destruction of the forests, and to the prevention of the growth of shrubs which take root in the prairies. By a judicious division of woodland and prairie, among the first inhabitants, there would be timber sufficient to meet the wants of many years; and it is presumeable that its improvement would be equal to the increasing demands of the colony.

A good grazing country must be, of all others, the best adapted to the condition of a people in their transition from the hunter to the civilized state. The comparative ease with which cattle were raised by our southern Indians, was no doubt a circumstance that greatly facilitated the improvement of their condition. In the case before us, we have not, after leaving the regions of Arkansas river, the dense and extensive cane-brakes which have afforded winter's food for thousands of cattle in the south. But that this is, nevertheless, an excellent grazing country, none will question; and this very fact, I trust, will contribute not a little to its commendation. The plains will afford abundance of pasturage for summer, and hay for winter.

Objections to the place we are considering, will be raised upon the supposition that the native inhabitants of that country may become hostile to the colonists.

After observing that the same objections will apply with almost equal weight, to perhaps any other territory that could be thought of for such a purpose, we may remark that no doubt can be entertained of our being able to conciliate the present inhabitants. A portion of the emoluments which they would realize from the negotiations by which their claims to the country would be extinguished, so far as the case should require, might be expended in the improvement of their own lands, the erection of buildings, the furnishing of them with domestic animals, implements of agriculture, &c. So that from the very beginning, and if need be, even previously to the settling of strangers in their country, they would perceive the advantages which would result to them from the measure. If we can purchase Indian lands and settle them with white men, why may we not do the same with equal safety when the settlers are Indians. The circumstance would not so readily be viewed as an intrusion, as if the settlers were not of their own countrymen, kindred, and colour. The effect in this respect, as in many others, would be very different from that sometimes produced by the removal westwardly, or northwardly, of these people in former cases; when they were left to make peace or war, as they chose, with their neighbours.

In the present case the emigrants would be kept under the control and management of the United States. The number of the first settlers being small, would be more manageable; and while they would be increasing in number, there would be an increase of restraint arising from individual and common interest, from improvement of mind, and from habitual regard for the regulations provided by our Government. The colonists being prevented from trespassing upon their neighbours, would have very little to fear from them.

It has been supposed that the colonizing plan is calculated to crowd together unfeeling savages, of different tribes, with sectional feelings, and old grudges, and now seconded by new causes of jealousy, the utter ruin of the whole by faction and murder, must ensue. Such conclusions as these, to say the least, must be hasty. Were we to fancy a dozen different tribes, some of whom were at variance with each other, and all of whom possessed their national prejudices, brought together on a small portion of territory, which would require their houses to be within sight of each other, and their farms to be united, we might draw such conclusions. But when we consider the extent of territory which all will allow ought to be set apart for the ultimate objects of the design, the smallness of each party that shall first arrive, and the different periods at which their several locations would be made, the conclusion need not be drawn that they will be crowded at all. They may be placed just so near to each other as a prudent regard to the condition of each, in view of the whole, would suggest, and no nearer. Although the different tribes, as for example, the Shawanoes, Miamiés, Ottawas, Puttawatomies, Sauks, Foxes, Winebagoes, Menomines, and Chippewas, might be placed upon much less ground than is at present covered by them, yet the contact of the several tribes would be precisely what it is in their present situation. We apprehend a density of each tribe; but the limits of each tribe or band would only come in contact as they do at present—and if each were provided with the means of living only as well as in their present miserable condition, there would exist no greater cause of collision, than there does in the state in which those several tribes are at this moment placed. But let us take particular notice, that the several tribes would be far better supplied with the comforts of life than they are at present, and therefore the grounds, in all respects, on which we might fear the collision of the tribes, would be proportionably lessened.

Some light will be thrown upon this part of our subject, when we shall have under consideration the process of removing the several tribes to the colony. Let us, however, bear in mind that no tribe, no portion of a tribe, would be left in the colony subject to the influence of lawless passions. No band would be destitute of the influence of those benevolent institutions, which, among other useful lessons, never fail to teach peace. None will be bold enough to deny that missionary establishments, under the countenance of our Government and a prudent management, can exert an extensive, and in this respect as well as in others, a salutary influence. The instructions of missionaries, given in the schools and from the pulpit, and the authority of our Government, doubtless furnish strong reasons for silencing our fears of internal broils. If our Government can now interpose its authority to the settling of disputes between contending tribes, each of which spreads out over hundreds of miles of forest, how much more readily could it con-

trol the same people, if so situated that every member of the community would be daily under the notice of the proper officers, and within the certain influence of restraints by them imposed?

Again, it is never imagined that the Indians will be *forced* into the colony contrary to their inclinations. And as the business of colonizing, so far as relates to the natives, originates in benevolence, no unrighteous means will be employed to *buy* the consent of any to remove to the colony. Sound argument alone, strengthened by an exhibition of facts, and by honest engagements not liable to disappoint the hopes they excite, will be resorted to. We may expect, therefore, that those who will be induced first to listen to proposals to remove, will be such as are most inclined to follow the advice of our Government. The very fact that a fair ingenuous course will influence them to leave their former residences, and settle in the colony, augurs strongly that the same honest course of conduct, the same authority, will influence them to remain peaceable among themselves. I cannot here forbear the remark, that their case must involve far less grounds for civil disturbances, than does the situation of these people at the present time.

I shall not do my countrymen the injustice to suppose that serious objections to colonizing the Indians, or to colonizing them west of Arkansas Territory and Missouri State, and south-west of Missouri river, will be made upon the supposition that the colonists might ultimately acquire strength sufficient to tempt them to assert independent rights, and to avenge supposed injuries, to the serious annoyance of the neighbouring States. The above objections would indicate an absence of righteous intention on our part. If we have done them no injustice, conscious integrity has nothing to fear. If we have injured them, the language of the objection would be, Let us make fast the fetters, lest the captives turn upon their keepers; let us complete the work of death already begun, lest the oppressor should survive their sufferings and avenge their wrongs.

Insulated as would be the colony in the district of country under consideration, they would have little intercourse with any people besides ourselves, and could therefore inhale no seditious sentiments from abroad. The geography of the country is such that no important commercial intercourse with foreigners could possibly exist. Their exports would necessarily be carried into or through our country, and their imports would return by the same rout. These circumstances would produce the same ties of connexion and mutual interest between them and us, that national roads and canals effect between the several States of our Union. The colony would grow up under the guardianship of our Government, and would imbibed its spirit and revere its institutions; and it could not fail to admire the enlightened age, and the humane policy which gave them "beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." The objection which we have been denouncing, would extend to most cases of benevolence, and forbid our helping the needy; forbid the adopting of a hapless orphan into our family, lest the beneficiary should ultimately assert an improper authority.

All our Indians within the States and Territories, and those to the north-west, might here obtain peaceable and undisturbed possessions, which they cannot hope for in states and territories already organized.

Should it be asked what assurance can be given to the Indians that they will not be disturbed in the proposed place, as they have heretofore been in others? I answer the most unequivocal of which such a case admits. *The local advantages of the place* are peculiar in their character, and as peculiarly favourable in the permanency of their possession. It is entirely without the precincts of every organized State or Territory. It would be the first instance of an Indian settlement being formed under the auspices of Government, not within the limits described by us for states, or within territorial jurisdiction. We may not infer the uncertainty of their residence from what has been, for no parallel case ever occurred. It is proposed to give them a territorial form of government. They would hold their territory and its immunities upon the faith of the United States; all which would be as secure to them as the privileges of the Territories of Arkansas and Michigan are to their inhabitants. Giving to the natives this country, would not be an abridgement of territory or privilege of any state, and consequently, none could or would complain.



CHAPTER VI.

On the Removal of the Indians to the Colony.

If we have been successful in commending the proposed design of colonizing the Indians; if we have found ourselves in possession of ample means; and if we have been fortunate in the selection of place; we may very properly inquire, *Can the Indians be induced to accept the proposals of our Government to settle in the colony?*

Proposals made a few years since, to the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians in New-York, to remove to the westward of Lake Michigan, were objected to by many of them: notwithstanding which, a considerable settlement of these people was afterwards formed in the vicinity of Green Bay, which would have increased rapidly had it not become obvious that they could not retain permanent and peaceable possession of the place.

In 1824 proposals were made by the United States' Commissioners to the Shawanoes of Waupaughkonetta, in Ohio, to remove to westward of Mississippi river. These proposals were not acceded to at the time. Nevertheless, without any special interference of our Government, and it is believed contrary to the advice of white men, who might be supposed to have considerable influence among them, and whose private interest it was, that the Indians should remain in Ohio, about one third part of them moved off in a body, in October, 1826, to the western country which had previously been offered them. Their new settlement on Kanzo river is flourishing, they are contented, and are inviting others, and particularly their relations in Ohio, to follow them.

Every one knows something of the strong attachments which the Cherokees feel to their country east of Mississippi river; yet we already find thousands of this tribe *west* of that river. These emigrant

Cherokees are not worthless stragglers. They possess hundreds of farms, well stocked with domestic animals, and well supplied with farming utensils.

Passing over the migrations of the Kickapoos of Illinois, the Delawares, and some of the Miamies of Indiana, and the Creeks of Georgia, and many others, we assure ourselves that the cases we have cited above are in point, and that they do afford convincing proof that the Indians may be removed to the proposed country, and that they may be removed by fair and honourable measures.

The inducements to a change of country in the cases cited above, must have been incomparably less than those which our colony is expected to offer. Most or all of them migrated from the ordinary principle of retiring from the whites as the latter approached, and without that systematic, certain, and efficient provision for their instruction, and their assistance, which the colonizing scheme proposes. We have therefore good grounds to believe that so soon as they can be convinced that the proposals of our Government are made in *sincerity*, the invitations which the colony will give them, will be accepted with joy, and the period hailed as the dawn of a clear day, worthy of being jubilized, when "*the outcasts and they that were ready to perish*" shall begin to return to the enjoyment of the blessings of a *peaceable* and a *permanent* HOME.

At the treaty of Wabash, Indiana, in September and October, 1826, proposals were made by the United States' Commissioners, to the Puttawatomies and to the Miamies, to remove to the west of Mississippi river. They were told that Government would provide them a country somewhere in those regions, and furnish them with schools, smiths, &c. A missionary who had spent many years among them, and whose usefulness in instructing them in a knowledge of letters, and of labour, not to say religion, could not be doubted by them, was offered as their guide, and a promise made that the missionary operations of the establishment to which he was attached, should be continued among them in their new country. Notwithstanding, these Indians refused to remove. This was only what we might have expected. Indeed it happened precisely according to the expectation of the Commissioners themselves. But this circumstance furnishes no solid argument against the practicability of removing these very tribes. The proposals were not, they could not be, made to them under the favourable circumstances that the colonizing plan anticipates. They were told that another country should be given them in exchange for theirs, which should equal it in value, &c. and which should be somewhere west of Mississippi river. But they could not be informed in what section of those western countries theirs would be, who would be their neighbours, &c. Their answer therefore was precisely such as we might expect sensible men to give. Who that was not obliged to leave his country, would be willing to barter upon such terms? Since that time, a few Puttawatomies, under authority of Government, have explored a portion of that country. The result is, a considerable number of them, together with some of their Ottawa brethren, wish to remove thither.

Let Government provide the place, and a suitable person, one in whom the Indians place confidence, to conduct a few of their people to visit it, and report its character to their tribe, and the subject would address itself to their understandings very differently from the case above cited.

Those civilizing establishments which exist in some of the tribes, and which enjoy the favour of our Government, could, without doubt, induce a number of families to remove to the colony at any time. I risk nothing in saying that I have an acquaintance with one such institution, which could readily induce two or three hundred to follow some of its members to the colony, and these should be taken from five different tribes. As soon, therefore, as Government shall point out the place, a settlement, or settlements can be formed from this single source, of five different tribes.

These settlements, let it be understood, would be formed without any further intervention of our Government than the providing of the place, &c. and the necessary countenance to those benevolent institutions. When once some of each tribe should be actually planted in the colony, under the favourable provisions of our Government, we should be properly prepared to propose to the several tribes at home to remove. We could point to the precise spot on which we designed to locate them, could show them their relations on the ground, the provisions in schools, smitheries, &c. made for their accommodation. The honesty of our intentions, and the policy of their acceptance of our proposals, would be *demonstrated* to their understandings. They would clearly perceive that the measure was very unlike the ordinary affair of removing back the Indians, merely for the sake of ridding ourselves of their trouble, and leaving them destitute of efficient means of improvement. Under these circumstances, not the shadow of a doubt can exist, that the majority of the tribes would readily accept the offers of our Government.

The circumstances of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks, east of Mississippi river, merit a distinct consideration in this place. Most other tribes are incapable of assuming the attitude of a party in making arrangements for their future residence. With these it is otherwise. The Cherokees, particularly, have shown themselves capable of framing a judicious constitution of civil government, and a wholesome code of laws. They have come out boldly, and declared their legal right to the country they at present occupy, east of the Mississippi. All this is well. We are gratified to discover among them so much manliness and good sense. Hence, we infer the readiness with which they will exchange countries, as soon as they shall perceive that it will be for their interest so to do.

The subject under consideration admits of demonstration. Its positions are sustained by arguments, the force of which cannot remain unfelt by the intelligent Cherokees. Men capable of forming themselves into an independent government, can easily enough perceive the incongruity, of the supposition, that an independent state can exist within the acknowledged boundaries of another independent state! They can perceive the obstacles to their becoming citizens of the states within the limits of which they are at present situated; nor can they indulge the most distant hope that we will curtail any state, much less strike one from the list, for the purpose of making room for them in the south. They must perceive the cloud which is daily accumulating over them, and feel assured that theirs is not the place of safety. They make a declaration of their rights, which will doubtless be respected, and this is a proper method to secure respect. But they cannot be so blind to their best interests as to refuse the proposed territory, since they cannot

but see in this offer, the only hope of averting the stroke which threatens the existence of their nation.

The southern Indians have inducements to remove, beyond what others feel. In improvement they are greatly in advance of others, and therefore feel greater love of life and its enjoyments. They know that in the Indian territory, their superior acquirements will give them the ascendancy among their brethren, and that situations of honour, trust, and profit, will be occupied chiefly by themselves. The amount of property which some of them possess, will not be at all unfavourable to their removal. Wealth does not prevent our citizens from emigrating to new countries. The rich as well as the poor, are willing to change places when they can pretty certainly find their account in it.

In addition to aggrandizement, the spirit of christian benevolence which they have imbibed, must have great influence upon their choice in favour of removal. A people who can form among themselves charitable associations for the relief of those of another nation, must feel great solicitude for their perishing countrymen, and could not refuse so favourable an opportunity of doing them good as would be offered in the territory. There they could afford the less improved, the influence of precept and example in whatever relates to time and to eternity.

It is presumeable that some families would choose to remain, and become citizens of the United States. The prospect of this, would increase their anxiety for the removal of their people generally, whose departure would dissipate many existing obstacles to their naturalization, and relieve them of a heavy burden.

But admitting that some tribes, or parts of tribes, unprepared for citizenship, would cling to the lands of their fathers, and we should find their objections to removal too obstinate to be conquered by the plain facts and arguments which the case, as above stated, would furnish; still we would by no means despair of ultimate and complete success. The main principle, which, above all others, ties them to the land of their relations, can be brought under our control, and made to operate in *favour* of their removing to the colony.

We have assumed the ground without fear, that some of the several tribes could presently be taken to the colony. These would have their influence with their kindred and people left behind, by whom they would be occasionally visited, &c. The result of the intercourse between the colonists in comfortable and flourishing condition, and their relations left on their original possessions, who would be miserably declining under accumulating woes, is not problematical. One after another would be drawn into the colony. Now, an Indian says, I will not leave this country because *here* are my relations—then, he would say, I will remove to the colony because *there* are my kindred. The Creeks who have recently settled on the Arkansas river are affectionately inviting their kindred on the east of Mississippi to join them, and the disposition to emigrate thither is daily increasing.

In urging the necessity of the plan under consideration, we interpose not the slightest objection to the continued operations of missionary establishments as they at present exist. On the contrary, we propose an increase of those institutions, and that they be carried on with energy. For as we multiply those institutions, and extend the influence of their operations, we increase the number of those best prepared by

habit and disposition to settle in the colony. These institutions would remain in the original places of the tribes, so long as the number of those tribes remaining would demand their labours. These institutions would direct *all* the pupils of their schools, on completing their several courses, to the colony. These youths, assisting by their improved understanding, their affluity to their people, and the fond feelings aroused by their adieus, would be powerful auxiliaries in aid of the removal of neighbouring Indians, unconnected with the schools. All would be told that they were not solicited to go into a land of strangers or enemies—there are teachers, with some of whom you are personally acquainted—our brothers, men who are teaching the same things that we are in this place, and who will afford you in that place the same aid that we do in this, in things relating to time, and to eternity.

Finally, the inducements which would invite them into the colony, and their increasing wretchedness, which would urge them to leave their original residences, it is fully believed, would not only meet the design of our Government, but would, in regard to the facility of their removal, far exceed the expectations which had been indulged at the commencement of the undertaking.

It is proper, however, before we dismiss this part of our subject, to observe, that notwithstanding the preceding remarks, we are well aware of some formidable obstacles to the proposed removal of the Indians. The obstacles to which we allude will not derive either their origin or their support from the Indians themselves, but both will be found in the avarice of white men, near to, or mingling with the Indians, whose interest it is for the natives to remain where they are, and in their present condition.

I deeply regret the necessity of mentioning this circumstance, but justice to my subject, to the Indians, and to my own conscience, demand it of me. We may prepare to encounter a host of opposers, consisting of traders both licensed and unlicensed, many of them speaking the Indian language fluently, and in habits of daily intercourse with them, often allied by marriage, and otherwise by blood, and of many others, who profit more or less by a commission from our Government, for the performance of services in the Indian department. Remove the Indians, and the fountain fails. Some estimate of the difficulties arising from this quarter, may be formed on considering the influence which the number of those interested persons, under their favourable opportunities, may exert on the minds of these ignorant, uninformed people, whose prejudices against us are generally inveterate, and whose jealousies are ever on the alert. Considering also, that in the transacting of business with the Indians, Government has generally been under the necessity of availing itself of the services of these very persons. The story requires much delicacy in the telling, and perhaps, has never been, nor will it now be plainly told, that scarce a treaty with the Indians occurs, in which the Commissioners of the United States are not obliged to shape some part of it to suit the convenience of some of this class of persons.

While on this topic, let us record it to the honour of our Government and of the individuals concerned, that the former has not been so injudicious in the selection of its officers for the Indian department, whose services are performed in the Indian country, as not to provide men of an opposite character to that of which we have just now complained.

We know that Government has in this important trust, officers who are men of the most honest intention, and of irreproachable character. These men, from the nature of their business, soon become well known to the Government, and to the public in general. Their talents and integrity raise them above suspicion. Should those men object to the colonizing of the Indians, it would be received as the effusion of sentiment, and not of selfishness. Their instructions from Government will be faithfully followed, whatever may be their own private opinions. Still it does not follow that we have not much, *very much* to fear from the hundreds who will array themselves in the ranks pointed out above. The object may nevertheless be attained. Our Government is not so feeble as to be frustrated in a noble design which involves her own character, and the national salvation of thousands of languishing sufferers within her territories, who are imploring her assistance. The Government *can* accomplish any thing, and every thing, which the plan requires, and do it with convenience to itself.

It is always to be regretted when avarice gets the advantage of the judgment of men. Neither companies nor individuals of respectability in the Indian trade, have any thing to fear from the colonizing scheme. It is well known that the fur trade has been many years on the decline, and that it must necessarily continue to decline. I speak on general terms. Individuals or companies may enlarge their business, and may extend their trade to some sections of country less frequented by traders than others, and by these and similar means realize an excess of profit. We all readily enough conceive the causes of decline, so far as relates to the diminution of fur-bearing and other animals, by the approach of white settlements, and the increase of the trade. But I cannot suppose that its ruin would be materially hastened by merely collecting together into one body the Indians mainly. Fur-bearing animals would multiply no less, and so long as there remain forests and furs in them, there will not be wanting men to take them.

The only just grounds upon which respectable traders could anticipate a diminution of their profits, is the probability that the Indians would leave their country, and the whites take possession of it, sooner than these events would occur by the ordinary process of removing them. But what are the profits of trade realized from the wretched hordes of Indians in New-England, New-York, Ohio, and those on the frontiers of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois; or with the four southern tribes? With some it is nothing, and with others it is a mere trifle. The fact is that the trade in a great portion of the country which we naturally first think of in our colonizing scheme, merits very little attention from regular traders, but is left chiefly to those who have neither talents nor money to enter upon business profitably. Some of the more northwardly parts of the regions under consideration afford a trade sufficient to invite the attention of enterprising traders; and let it be observed that these places would be the last affected by the removal of the Indians to the colony. The interests of the whites and the interests of the Indians, alike require that the first to be removed should be those nearest to our settlements, and of course of least importance in the fur trade.

Nearly allied to this subject is the rapid diminution of the Indians, as for example, the once formidable tribe of Miamies, now reduced to about one thousand souls. The number of Indians employed in the chase diminishes yearly. The presumption is, that colonizing would not so

materially accelerate the diminution of those who would engage in the proper seasons in taking skins for traffic, as at first we should be inclined to suppose. The colony providing not only for their rescue from the course of casualties and crime, which is prematurely hurrying them out of time, but also for their positive increase in numbers, would thrive upon the excess. Admitting, however, that by the opening of the colony, the number of actual hunters would be lessened, which indeed we believe would be the case; yet the amount of peltries would not thereby be diminished; an individual would take the more.



CHAPTER VII.

Regulations of the Colony in Relation to Laws and Men.

WE have all along held out the idea that the United States would provide for the colony laws and officers for the execution of them. We are prone to extremes. Hitherto, in the matter of Indian reform, we have done too little. When we take hold of the subject in earnest, there is reason to fear we shall do too much; and in no point is there so much danger of excess as in that which relates to giving them *laws and men*.

In the judicial department, the wants of the colony in its infancy will be very few. It is not in the savage, but in the civilized state that men learn to practise the intrigues of law. The whole code of Indian laws, if we may apply such terms in the case, is comprised in a few regulations of the most plain and simple character; and yet they extend to all their wants about as well as our volumes do to ours. I am not expressing an opinion with regard to either the utility or the righteousness of their codes. An Indian taken from the woods, could about as readily comprehend the science of chemistry, as the utility of the numerous laws by which one of our States is governed. Our Government, apprized of this fact, would not shock their feelings and alarm their fears by imposing on them laws, which, in their estimation, would be abstruse and superfluous.

If our Government were at first to place in the colony Judges, Clerks, Sheriffs, Constables, &c. &c. as might be proper in the formation of a colony of people taken from our States, it would be a serious hindrance rather than a help in their reformation. It would place the colonists in a situation so dependent as to check in them the spirit of improvement. As persons assured of ample support from their guardians would feel less ambitious of acquiring a knowledge of business, than if left to provide for themselves, so these might be made to feel the influence of a paralyzing dependence.

We presume that our Government would, at the commencement of the settlement, furnish them merely with such agents as their *immediate* wants would require, without anticipating subsequent ones; and, if need be, would afterwards add men and measures. It is confidently believed that few, very few officers of our appointing, and of our citi-

zens, would ever be needed. We easily perceive that in the infancy of the colony they would not, and in proportion to the increase of their wants for men and measures, would be an increase of competency in the colonists to provide both. So far as the colonists would possess tolerable capacity for the management of their own internal concerns, they ought, certainly, to be allowed to exercise it. By this means they would promote a spirit of national pride that would accelerate their improvement in every respect.

Notwithstanding the wretched condition of the people under consideration, I presume that, from the very commencement of the settlement of the colony, they would be far better provided with men of their own tribes, to manage their business of every kind, than even our Government is aware of. There are many promising Indian youths of moral deportment, and sterling talents, who, under the patronage of benevolent societies, and the favour of Government, will have eminently qualified themselves for usefulness in the colony. We are acquainted with one single school in the Indian country, and that not the oldest, which, in the space of three years, has placed in suitable seminaries in the states of New-Jersey, New-York, Vermont, and Ohio, twelve of its pupils, for the purpose of acquiring special qualifications for usefulness among their countrymen. These youths belonging to four different tribes, were taken from the rudest savage haunts, and taught in the Mission School, habits of industry, and afforded that knowledge of letters, which the time of their attendance allowed, and were selected from among their fellow-students, as candidates for other stations among their countrymen, than the field, or the shop. Two of them are studying with a view to the practice of medicine, and others, with a view to services in the schools, in the pulpit, and in the affairs of Government.* These are not solitary instances of similar preparations.

* What an unanswerable argument in favour of colonizing the Indians, is found in this circumstance! The benevolence of societies and of our Government instructs Indian youths, in domestic, agricultural, and mechanic arts, and in a word, prepares different persons for filling with acceptance every department of a civil and religious community, not excepting the affairs of state. But deny us the colony, and these very amiable youths are, in a manner, put out of the world. Their fine feelings could not brook the degradation with which our prejudices would daily load them, if resident among us; and what will the knowledge they have acquired in arts and sciences profit them among their barbarous countrymen? Where, let me ask, upon the face of our continent, can the farmer make his field, or the workman his shop, in the hope of the undisturbed occupancy of either, and in the enjoyment of the rights of man, in common with those around him? Where will those of them whom we have made men of science, find scope for the employment of their acquirements?

I must again advertise my reader that I am not theorizing. My remarks are based upon facts which have occurred under my personal observation. To go no further than the case of the twelve Indian youths mentioned above: Their benefactors, after they had brought them up from savage to civil, and even genteel manners, and had reared some of them nearly and others quite to manhood, found their condition involved in a dilemma, from which the anticipation of a colony alone could deliver them. The tribes to which they belonged were in their unimproved, savage, and unsettled state, with slight exceptions which had recently occurred. The time had arrived for these youths to leave the institution in which they had been brought up. Whither should they go? With the exceptions drawn from our preceding observations, no alternative is left but for them to return to their savage countrymen: a people who had no use for a knowledge of letters, who were unsettled, and could not give one acre of land in fee to even one of their own children; a

By the time of the opening of the colony, for the introduction of settlers, there will be many who have been instructed in the Mission schools, in a knowledge of domestic, mechanic, and agricultural arts, ready to enter it, and to pursue these useful employments; also, many who had never been connected with schools, but who, in the neighbourhood of the civilizing establishments, have been influenced to adopt, in a degree, the habits of civilized life. These united with the hundreds of industrious and well informed Indians of the south, would furnish nearly all the public men which the government would require.

These facts convince us that it will not be necessary for the United States to furnish many agents besides what may be really necessary to manage affairs between one tribe and another, and the location of each, &c. We must here avail ourselves of a thought that occurs, which will add not a little to our arguments in support of the opinion that the colonists could, pretty easily, be kept in peace among themselves; that is, the colony would be commenced with improved materials, prepared by the purest doctrines of benevolence, either in approved schools, or in their neighbourhoods, and with the civilized southern Indians.



CHAPTER VIII.

Concluding Arguments and Remarks.

We have more than once assumed that the plan of colonizing the Indians, provides for the earlier removal of them than could otherwise be expected. When we consider the interest which all who are engaged in the work of Indian reform would feel in the colonizing of these people, and their influence over, at least the pupils of their schools, and the Indians in their immediate neighbourhoods; when we reflect on the suitability of the place proposed, and the assurance of assistance, and of the good faith of our Government, that can be given to under-

people abandoned to every vice, without a home, without a hope! No wonder if they who had sacrificed the society of friends, and the comforts of civilized life, and who had encountered extraordinary hardships in a residence in the Indian country for the sake of saving those youths from the wretchedness of their less fortunate countrymen, should, after all their privations and labours, regret that these fruits of their toils were under the necessity of returning to the haunts of barbarism.

I wish that I could say the evil had, in no instance, advanced further than to a menace of our hopes, as in the cases stated above. But I am not so happy. I am personally acquainted with many Indian youths who have been brought up by the hand of benevolence, and have completed their courses in, and left the institutions, who are at this moment like friendless outcasts, to whom the earth has denied a place, beyond the extent of a grave—half-mingling with their people, from whose wretchedness and depravity they recoil, and half-mingling with the whites, where their bitterness of soul becomes not less intolerable. The evil is progressing. Scores of amiable Indian youths are in the schools, rising to manhood and womanhood, with knowledge and virtue rendering them worthy of equality in the scale of the most honoured and happy of our race, who must presently be dismissed from the schools under the sickening prospects above stated.

standing Indians of influence in their tribes, we flatter ourselves that the ground we have taken will not be disputed. We trust that all will agree that a nucleus to the colony could not only be formed immediately, but it could be formed under circumstances peculiarly favourable to a rapid accession. Moreover, there are Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Shawanoes, already in that country, all of whom have made considerable advances in civilization. Delawares, Osages, Kansas, and others now there, could at once be subjected to the regulations of the territory. It only remains for government to appropriate the territory, and establish its regulations, and we shall find the settlement of the country already considerably advanced.

In view of all the circumstances relating to this matter, I think few will venture to doubt that the people of whom we are speaking could, with some exceptions among those of the south, be removed to the colony, just as speedily as our Government would choose. Most of them are so under the controlling influence of the United States, that they can be removed, without coercion, at almost any time, I mean, as matters at present stand, without any colonizing measures. It would be our interest indeed to have them out of our way; but motives of humanity forbid removing them, until some provisions be made for their subsequent accommodation. An almost insatiable thirst for the extension of our settlements, prevails generally throughout the United States. When the natives shall be provided with a peaceable and permanent habitation, conscience and interest will alike say, Let them go.

On page 23 we expressed a hope that we should be able to make it appear, that by colonizing the Indians, an item of annual expenditure of our Government of some moment, would be superseded. The item to which we alluded, is that allowed to Indian Agents, Sub-Agents, and Interpreters. The United States have employed in the department of Indian agencies, four superintendents, twenty agents, thirty-six sub-agents, and thirty-eight interpreters. The salaries of the first amount to \$4,600; of the second, to \$28,300; of the third, to \$18,600; and of the fourth, to \$15,031: making an aggregate of \$66,531 expended annually in *salaries* in this department. Colonizing the Indians would, in a short time, supersede one half or more of the agencies, and an equal proportion of the expense, say \$33,265: 50 per annum. This is not a trifling sum to be positively saved on the single item of salaries connected with Indian agencies; and the period would arrive when no part of it would be required. Add this annual saving to any supposed disadvantage that would result to us from the execution of the plan, or as the matter plainly appears to me, add it to the supposed *real* advantages which the scheme promises to us, and it alike commends the design of colonizing the Indians.

On this subject I have usually throughout preferred speaking in general terms, especially on the government of the colony. I have deemed it prudent to avoid shackling our plan with small particulars, on which there might be a diversity of opinion, and which might be varied, without materially affecting vital principles. When once the main lines are drawn, the details can easily be filled up. The language of existing measures will be easily understood, when they call for the adoption of new ones. We shall deem it sufficient on this point to add our settled opinion, that Government need *not* employ in this matter, either a great number of men, or a great amount of money; the success of the enter-

prise will not depend upon either, or upon both. But to insure success, we should begin in the proper place, and move on with system. We should first find *the place*, and then look out for the people to fill it. And the very same acts which will furnish the *people*, will, at the same time, provide the means for placing them in the colony.*

We cannot too soon take hold of this subject in good earnest. We have already too long delayed it. Our delay has been a pecuniary loss to us of thousands,—may I not more properly say, of millions of dollars, and of thousands of valuable lives, wasted in wars with the Indians,—while at the same time, we have interposed no effectual preventive of the wastings and woes of this ill-fated people.

We are not prepared to state with precision the amount of money which has been expended by the United States on Indian wars; but we believe that we shall be safe in supposing that one tenth part of the amount, judiciously applied to the reformation of the Indians, on the plan proposed, would have superseded all necessity for the expenditure of the remaining nine tenths—would have prevented most of the frightful calamities of our Indian wars; and, instead of leaving among, and near to us, a miserable and perishing people, would have ornamented our happy land with another *state*, connected with those which do exist, by such ties as would sit easily and advantageously upon both, embracing hundreds of thousands of happy people.

Our civilizing institutions know not whither to direct the subjects of their charge on the completion of their courses. Too many, alas, of those once hopeful beneficiaries are already sinking to ruin by our delay. Why should we begin the work of Indian reform, and, leaving it incomplete, lose the labour and the funds we have bestowed upon it? Our benevolent institutions which are at present in operation are good; they are efficient so far as we ought to expect them to be. But they cannot reach the whole case. The system is incomplete. These institutions cannot be expected to change the wildernesses in which they are located, into fruitful fields, as applied to the natives; for it is well understood that the natives must shortly leave those places for others unknown, or be exposed to more certain ruin. Those establishments can do no

* From a desire to exhibit the colonizing plan in a light as unexceptionable as possible, I have not pressed the claims of the Indians to the full extent that my own judgment carries me. Our proposals in respect to monied means, are made more favourable to us, than comports with the justice of their cause, and the magnanimity of a wealthy and righteous nation. We can, and we *ought* to do more for them than I have proposed, and a hope is indulged that a generous and humane public will honourably protest against its littleness.

It would well comport with the character of our country, and our abundant resources, to make a direct appropriation of a respectable sum, for the immediate relief of the Indians, and not wait the less expeditious progress of our plan. If we were poor and could not pay our just debts, or bestow a needed charity, we could find an apology for the omission of both. But we are not poor. No nation upon earth can so easily discharge debts of either justice or benevolence, as ours. And it is fondly hoped that in disposition we shall be found to excel, even more than in means.

We have, for a few years past, been trying the experiment of an appropriation for purposes of Indian reform, of \$10,000 per annum. The success of the experiment has exceeded what had been our most sanguine expectations. Taught by experience *how* to apply and *where* to apply, the dignity of our liberal institutions calls upon us to say at once, we *will apply* to this object a sum becoming our character, and commensurate with the exigencies of the case.

more than take the rude timbers of the forest, and prepare them for the building. Here their labours end. Unless we add other operations for the purposes of collecting together, and of uniting the materials, we shall have the mortification of seeing the objects on which we have bestowed much labour, successively perishing amidst the more neglected mass. We have actually arrived at the place where we are constrained to feel the want of immediate relief, such alone as the colonization system provides for. I have not only witnessed the dilemma of those who are engaged in the work of Indian reform, but also, with my *own ears*, again and again, heard reflecting pupils of the schools, whose good understanding led them to foresee the darkness which intercepted their march, inquire of their benefactors, "Whither shall we go, what shall we do when we leave you?" I wish that one half only, of the anxiety and evil which attend this stage of our work of Indian reform, could be distinctly understood by those who possess power to help. The single instance of one whom I beheld weeping alone, and who, on my inquiry, declared the cause of his grief to be the anxiety to which I have referred above, would furnish argument in favour of colonizing these people, worth volumes of speculations.

How exceedingly discouraging must be the work of civilizing Indians, to those engaged in it, under existing circumstances. They form missionary establishments in the wilderness under great disadvantages and privations, and all under the sickening reflection, that these stations must soon be abandoned for others, to be made in other forests, further back, to which the people for whom they toil will soon be driven. With a long trial of their patience, they at length prevail on some of their rude neighbours to erect houses, and enclose fields. They have the satisfaction to see them beginning to raise domestic animals, and to hush the cryings of their half-starved children by something like a regular supply of wholesome food. They would congratulate themselves on the prospect of receiving an ample reward for their labours; but the thought perpetually haunts them—These people must soon quit their fields and houses, and go back into the wilderness again, or what is worse, be circumscribed to a small spot, surrounded by white population—in which case their destiny ceases to be doubtful; or they must be made to feel the effects of State laws, to their ruin.

But with all the regret which benevolent associations feel on these accounts, even when their labours are aided by the patronage of Government, they have not the power of improving the matter. They may form new establishments, and strengthen old ones. But they have not the power of procuring a single spot upon the face of the whole earth, on which they may locate the people of their charge, and say, Here you may "sit under your own vine and fig-tree, and none shall make you afraid." This power is vested alone in Government—to our Government we *appeal*—we do it in behalf of a people who, with one or two exceptions, cannot plead their own cause, *some of whom at this moment sit by my side*. Oh that God, who made the world to be inhabited by man, would grant a little space for the occupancy of these people!—*Would grant them some room in the sympathies of our Government!*

A BRIEF RECAPITULATION *shall close our remarks.*

We have endeavoured to show that the Aborigines of our country are not *noxious vermin* of which we ought to rid the world, but *men*, entitled to the rights of men. The justice of their claims to the soil they inhabit, is not inferior to the most righteous and undisputed title, that any people, in any part of the earth, ever preferred to a portion of it. These people, whatever may have become of a portion of their property, or wherever may be the residue of it at present, have left a wretched remnant, lingering on our borders, immersed in misery, rapidly sinking into extinction, and without power to save themselves. Unless our Government pluck the half-consumed brands from the fire, they will soon disappear. We have the means of doing it—of doing it without loss to ourselves, and in all probability, with positive convenience and profit. We have the best place which our portion of the continent ever afforded for such a purpose, yet unoccupied by us, to give them for their perpetual home, and we can conveniently and speedily remove them to it. In their case there is no alternative; without colonizing them, they will inevitably perish, as past experience testifies; with it they will be saved, as evidence no less indubitable has incontestably proved. *Shall we save them or not?* HEAVEN AND HUMANITY DIRECT THE ANSWER!

APPENDIX.



No. I.

Reasons for Writing, &c.

THE following numbers are not written from a fondness for writing, nor from a supposition that I shall be able to tell what no one else knows; but because I feel confident that the state of the case requires something to be written at this time; because I know of no one else who will write upon this subject; and because I am, in providence, so situated, that it would be particularly criminal in me to omit doing any thing within my power, for the melioration of the condition of the Indians.

The foregoing pages were designed, on their first publication, as an appeal to our government in behalf of the Indians. We all well understand in whom authority is vested, and who sit at the helm of our public affairs. Of those persons, we have respectfully solicited and have obtained a hearing. The reflection is pleasant, that our prayer is only a response to the correct thoughts and generous feelings of the rulers and lawgivers of our nation. More than ordinary interest has recently been manifested on this subject, and matters obviously appear to be approximating a crisis; and, we trust, a favourable one. As might be expected, we find the wise and the good differing in the choice of measures for the accomplishment of an end alike desirable to all. Therefore, every grain which can be cast into the scale of information, is at this time particularly called for, and every correct thought disclosed may contribute somewhat to a favourable influence on the beam. Even erroneous sentiments on this subject had better become public, than be allowed a secret influence upon our conduct. Let the error be known, and it may be corrected.

The last two administrations have commended the measures which alone, we are constrained to believe, are calculated to rescue the Indians from extinction. After such respectable commendations of the subject to the consideration of Congress, it may to some appear presuming for us to add our entreaties and remarks; but I am confident that the matter is not thus viewed by the parties just alluded to, who have had the subject under consideration. The measures have been commended, and, through the proper officers of the department, facts and arguments have been stated. This was designed to elicit inquiry, information, and action.

Members of Congress are the representatives of the people, whom it is their happiness to serve, and especially those of their own particular districts, when it can be done in accordance with the interests of the whole.

Wrongs of our government in relation to the Indians, have been expressed in terms proper enough for those who employed them, but

which, from their plainness would be rather indecorous in me.* Now, let it be known to us all that these errors of our government, of which our public men speak without reserve, are not crimes particularly of our representatives, nor of any class of public officers. Ours is a government of the people, and an error of the government is one in which the people are implicated. What our government authorities have done, has been done in accordance with the general impulse of the community. Our public officers serve us, and have done it with fidelity unexampled in the history of the world. They are themselves an integrant part of the people; they carry with them to their seats of authority and deliberation, the feelings and views of the people, and in them is formed the focus of our desires. If, therefore, as is universally believed, the policy of government in relation to the Indians, has heretofore been wrong, a proper method of correcting the wrong would be to attempt a reformation in the community in general. We, therefore, earnestly entreat all into whose hands our remarks may fall, not to consider the subject as belonging exclusively to the consideration of Congress, and heads of departments, but one which presents itself to the serious investigation of every benevolent person in the United States.

In illustration of my views, allow me attention to one case only, in which our public functionaries have repeatedly told us errors have occurred, fraught with destruction to the Indians, to wit: the quick succession with which treaties have been held with them for the extinguishment of their title to land. It is no more likely that these treaties originated with officers of government than with others. I have reason to believe that Commissioners have sometimes entered upon these duties with a degree of reluctance, and in compliance with the general wish, rather than with their own personal inclinations. An insatiable thirst for wealth and for territory pervades the community. Some enterprising, not to say ambitious citizens, form schemes, the accomplishment of which requires the extinguishment of Indian title to a certain tract of country. The desires of those persons are easily diffused among others, and readily find their way to our public authorities, accompanied by importunities. When, therefore, we again hear of lands being purchased of the Indians, let us not say *they*, but *we* have done it. It is time that all who feel interested in the welfare of the Indians should, by open and candid investigation, elicit the most eligible plans for their improvement, and while every one feels ready to yield, if necessary, some points of minor consequence, let us endeavour to unite upon *vital* principles, and make a simultaneous and unceasing effort.



No. II.

Character of Indian Missions.

Whoever dispassionately views the subject of colonizing the Indians, will perceive that it is a work of time, not to be effected in a few years. It so happens that self-interest is, in general, the predominant principle

* See Reports to Congress of Secretaries Calhoun and Barbour, in 1824 and 1826, and speeches in Congress of Messrs. M'Lean, Lumpkin, Smith, and others, in 1828.

in government; consequently, those tribes which are least in our way, we shall feel least desirous to remove. Hence we hear *much* said respecting the removal of the southern Indians, and less respecting that of others. We may, therefore, expect the necessity for missions to continue undiminished for many years to come. It is possible that in the Indian territory, missionary operations may assume slight shades of difference from those among the several tribes in their original places. This difference will occur merely in accommodation to the circumstances in which each will be placed. It will be proper to prosecute missionary operations in each tribe to the greatest extent practicable, because by so doing they may the more readily be induced to remove to the territory. Every missionary would be influenced by the directions of the society he served, by the instructions of government, and, most of all, by his own solicitude for the welfare of his people, to persuade them to remove. All civilizing agents would be desirous to exchange their temporary residences among the several tribes for such as would be permanent; and no pains would be spared by them to accomplish it. All the circumstances of the case would facilitate the views of government.

Further, those efforts should be prosecuted with energy, because by them emigrants to the territory would be prepared, in a greater or less degree, for citizenship. This would tend greatly to obviate difficulties which some persons have anticipated, from a supposed heterogeneous assemblage of savages. Those establishments are at present too few; their increase is desirable in proportion to the interest we feel in the improvement of the Indians.

At present those institutions are supported chiefly by the munificence of benevolent associations and individuals, and in part by appropriations of Congress for that special purpose, and by treaty stipulations. Arguments are numerous and strong in favour of the whole expense being met by government, without applying a *charity* of any one in the case. But should the benevolent perceive that the improvement of the natives would be rendered precarious by withholding their bounty, they would deem it not only a duty but a privilege to give. I fully believe this would be the case for the following reasons.

Government allowances have generally been applied in conjunction with funds of benevolent societies. (See "Remarks," page 24.) By this means the application of the same has been strictly and successfully guarded against abuse. This fact is the highest commendation which this plan could receive as proper for time to come. When the improvement of the Indians becomes a business entirely of the government, it will be impossible to defend it from abuse. No matter how wise and well-disposed may be men in authority, the nature of the case is such as past experience, in relation to our intercourse with the Indians, has unquestionably proven, that it is impossible for Government to oversee the subject so as to render its good management certain. There is something of principle, something of the tenderness, patience, and endurance of benevolence and religion required in the matter of Indian improvement. The people whom we propose to relieve are feeble and dependent; authority and strength may be requisite in providing the home, and even the cradle of the infant, but it is the gentle hand, guided by the tenderest feelings of the human heart, that soothes its sorrows.

In all our doings for the benefit of our fellow men, we should keep in sight what human nature is in him who gives, as well as in him who receives. Such is our nature that should the matter of Indian improvement become a business of government alone, and cease to be considered an enterprise of benevolence, the solicitude for success, which is one of the main springs of action, even in government itself, would abate. Our Presidents, Secretaries, Congressmen, &c. who have encouraged Indian improvement, have all acted under the influence of principles of benevolence; *not as derived from government*, as such, but as being themselves a part of that community in which has lately been awakened and cherished to a happy extent, a spirit of "good will towards man." The policy of government has remained much the same from the first, with only such changes in favour of the Indians as equalled the improved state of society in the United States.

Within a few years past, more than ordinary concern for the welfare of our fellow men has pervaded our country generally. The wretched have every where been sought out by the hand of kindness, from the obscure hovels in the suburbs of our cities, to the weather-beaten savage who flies o'er the plain or lurks in the wood. It is this spirit of humanity and kindness that has prompted our rulers and lawgivers to action in the case under consideration, they being themselves a part of the people who are subjects of its influence. Benevolent societies and individuals, therefore, should not abate the fervency of their prayers, nor lessen the amount of their charities; rather both should be augmented, under a full conviction that, by so doing, they contribute most effectually to the adoption and to the promotion of such measures of government as are calculated to accomplish the end desired. Should benevolent societies and individuals cease to invest funds in establishments for Indian improvement; their missionaries, should they be careful to provide them, would become accountable to the government only, and not to them. Those societies would lose both their right and their inclination to direct; the present salutary effects of their watchful superintendence would consequently cease.

This subject has been fruitful in speculations relative to the most eligible mode of operation. But it is fully believed that few defects of magnitude can be detected in the present generally approved plan. I have supposed that only one existed, viz. the schools being composed of both sexes. For the same reasons which induce us to form separate schools for the sexes in our states, I would advise that they be kept distinct among the Indians, especially among those in the territory. Modern missionary operations do not suffer by a comparison with former ones. The success of our labours in preparing many Indians for a better condition than that of their dependent relatives, is a reason which strongly urges the adoption of a different policy of government.

Missionaries to the Indians enter upon labours widely different from those of missionaries to most other heathen nations. Take, for example, a mission to Hindostan or Burmah. In either of those places it is not necessary to adopt measures to render the people stationary, because they are already so. While each Indian tribe knows its own limits, beyond which they only occasionally pass, their present condition obliges them frequently to change places. They assemble at their villages in May and June, and plant and cultivate their small fields, averaging about an acre to a family. They own no other domestic animals than

horses and dogs, the former of which are not used for draught. While cultivating their ground, their sustenance is chiefly obtained by hunting, and by digging the wild potatoe and other roots; consequently, they are much of their time absent from their villages even at this season. Their crops are harvested about the commencement of frosts in autumn; part of their corn and potatoes, and perhaps some few farming and cooking utensils, are then deposited in secret places in holes dug in the earth. This done, all, both male and female, old and young, move off according to inclination, on their hunting excursions. During the hunting season they move from place to place, as may be suggested by the plenty of game and the prospect of grass and brush for their horses. In the breaking up of winter, they make sugar from the sugar maple, and, as above remarked, return to their villages at the season of planting.

Should a missionary station himself in one of their villages, and even succeed in securing a tolerable congregation to hear religious and other instructions; in September or October his people would leave him alone, not to see the smoke of a single hut beside his own, until the following May or June. Should he follow them on their huntings, his labours would often be limited to a single family. Admitting that, during the summer, some had profited by his instructions, a sad deterioration might be expected on their return the following spring. These remarks are not intended to apply to the southern tribes, but to those on the north and west.

The first consideration, therefore, with those who embark in the work of Indian improvement is, by what means they may be rendered *stationary*. It is at once obvious that to effect this, they must be induced to adopt habits of industry, must cultivate the ground on a larger scale, keep domestic animals and employ them for servile purposes, and consequently must inclose their fields with fences. In prospect of the wants of their future improved condition, the youths of both sexes must be instructed in letters, and, as a matter inseparably connected with both their present and eternal welfare, religious instruction should be imparted to the greatest possible extent. But we cannot hope for much progress in literature or religion, until they become so situated as to make it possible for them to attend to the means which Heaven has ordained should be employed for improvement in these things.

Every missionary station, therefore, that it may be efficient, must add to its religious advantages a school for instruction in letters, and it must become a *working institution*. Females must be taught to use the spinning-wheel and needle, and to perform all kinds of domestic labour; and the males must be instructed in agriculture and mechanic arts. These encouragements to labour must be extended beyond the precincts of the schools, to the surrounding country, and all, as far as practicable, and circumstances shall suggest, be encouraged to similar habits of industry.

It will readily be perceived that a missionary to such a people as these, has work before him of a very different character from what would have been the case had he settled in Hindostan, and I still say, without fear of contradiction, many degrees more perplexing. We mean no deduction from the well-earned honours of the many worthy missionaries who have laboured, or are labouring in other lands, by a comparison of Indian missions with theirs. Many, very many, we rejoice to know,

have ascended as nearly above the benefits of praise and the harm of slander, as is possible for frail man to rise. We make the comparison merely for the illustration of our subject, that we may understand the condition of the people for whom we labour, and be able to judge *how* to labour for them successfully.

Compared with those in foreign lands, our missionary fields are contiguous to our native places. Nevertheless, a greater proportion of missionaries have been disappointed in the nature of their labours, on entering upon them in the Indian country, than of those who have gone to distant countries. This must have been merely because they neglected to consider the peculiar condition of this people. That those disappointments have occurred, is evident from the many secessions from missionary labour among us.

Missionaries should be habitually industrious. If naturally or artificially tempered for indolence, they may be prompted by zeal to bestir themselves for a few months, but as the circumstances of their situation become familiar, industry will become irksome. Without industry, a missionary would be worse than nobody. Indians are remarkable for their indolence in every respect. Labour, especially of the men, is deemed disreputable. These impressions are unhappily cherished by the manners of Indian traders in the countries through which they are scattered. The hirelings in this service are almost invariably taken from Canada, and are of a class of people obviously enough, even to the Indians, exceedingly ignoble. Clerks and principals in the trade, make as great distinctions, in their intercourse with them, as usually exists between a negro slave and his master. The Indians, perceiving that the labour among the whites who mingle with them is performed by menials, are additionally confirmed in their own views. The impressions cherished by these examples have given the missionaries, in some places, much vexation. The case might be somewhat different, could they avail themselves of the services of servants, as some of those to the south have done.

It is not enough to say to an Indian, you ought to labour, and be provident and industrious in all your business. We must set the example.

We admit that a missionary would be but poorly employed, were he to labour regularly in the field or the shop, except in cases where men would have the noble self-denial to do it from choice. Most of them could be otherwise employed more usefully. Manual labour may be chiefly hired. Nevertheless, he should show himself not too good to take hold, on any business which it was necessary to teach the natives. This he may do without becoming a day-labourer. *He should be industrious*, let his employments be what they might. These remarks apply with equal propriety to the female department of missions.

Again, there is a promptitude in business essential to usefulness in a missionary, which we can never bring some persons to observe. Each item in the routine of business should be attended to precisely at the proper time; by this means we find time for every thing. But one inclined to indolence will always be in the rear, and will find time for nothing.

A missionary to another country, on arriving at the field of his labours, enters upon the study of the language of his people, and upon the translating of the scriptures. As he proceeds in either, he sallies forth to tell the news of salvation to the perishing heathen around him;

to circulate tracts; &c. Servants can be obtained to attend to domestic concerns. In the establishing of schools it is not necessary to bring the pupils into his family, and to impose on himself the charge of instructing, managing, feeding, clothing, and lodging them, as so many of his own children. If under these circumstances, he is subjected to trials, which often are sore enough, such is the structure of the human mind, when under the influence of grace, that his business of all others is best calculated to sustain him. Being constantly engaged in labours which are immediately of a missionary character, and congenial to the desires of his soul ever since he left his native land, the fire of holy benevolence is kept burning in his bosom.

The missionary to the aborigines of our country leaves his place and society with the same heaven-born desire to point the benighted Indian to the path of virtue, and to guide him in the way to heaven. Relinquishing his business in life, and consecrating himself to labours for the benefit of others, without the hope of any earthly reward, beyond food and raiment, or in other words, the indispensable necessities of life, he fancies himself to be quitting the busy, perplexing spheres of the world, and to be entering upon a scene of labours which will perpetually accord with the pious breathings of his soul. He, to be sure, expects to encounter many privations and hardships, but these he hopes to bear with cheerfulness, on account of the pleasure realized in the nature of his work.

On his arrival at the field of his labours he applies himself to the study of the language of the natives. He finds himself among a people totally ignorant of letters. Here are no books for his assistance; and twenty chances to one if he finds a person tolerably well qualified for even a common interpreter, much less one who has an idea of the science of language. He is forced to pick up the language as he can find it. He is denied the pleasure of translating, and of circulating portions of the scriptures, and other tracts, for his people have no knowledge of letters. He proceeds to preach to them, but more than half the year they are wandering, partly in separate families; and during the season when most about their villages, he will frequently have the grief to hear that half his congregation are absent, procuring roots and weeds to satisfy the cravings of hunger. Ardent spirits are distributed to them all over their country, and not one of a hundred of either sex is not inclined to use them intemperately. This is a sickening evil to be met with wherever he goes, but is most prevalent during the season that they inhabit their villages. With all these discouragements, his faith and resolution might not fail him, even when mingling with his people in their filthy camps, and impelled by necessity to partake of their homely cookery, could he be allowed to give his undivided attention to these labours, which in themselves are calculated to inspire zeal. But he is not so fortunate. He must turn his attention to agriculture and to the management of a farm, stocked with domestic animals, for the sake of teaching the same to the people of his charge. He must become the superintendent of shops in which are taught mechanic arts. Most persons with ordinary families of their own children, in situations where faithful servants cannot be employed, deem their task in providing them with food, raiment, lodgings, attendance in sickness, and instruction in letters, labour, and morals, far from light. But the missionary has added to the number of dependants on his care ten or fifteen fold, and

these additions are wild from the woods, unaccustomed to parental restraints, and from the midst of a people among whom are commonly practised every thing wrong of which their state is susceptible, from the vilest murders to the least offensive sins.

Even all this could be borne, could he properly keep alive the Missionary ardour of his soul, which invited him into this land of darkness. But the cares and perplexities of the world produce a similar effect on the mind, whether in a civilized, or a savage land. His secular anxieties abate the ardour of holy benevolence, and tend to banish all comfortable religious desires and enjoyments, much the same as similar cares would have done in his native land, and under different circumstances. "Alas!" he says to himself, "I had thought of retiring from the vexation of worldly engagements, and of devoting myself to exercises purely religious, instead of which I find myself tenfold deeper in secular perplexities than before I came hither."

I say again, that my observations apply also to the female department, with this difference, that every perplexity which the case involves falls with doubled discouragement upon female missionaries. With them there is less variety in business, and necessarily less of those services immediately of a missionary character, desirable to all, and in themselves calculated to cherish zeal.

In these remarks I am carefully avoiding exaggeration. I am soberly stating facts, and which exist around the place where I write, and at many other missionary stations. The business of a missionary to the Indians is calculated to unnerve the constitution, and to press down into melancholy the finest flow of spirits.

A missionary in this country should possess a tact for being a man of business. There are some men who can scarcely provide for themselves and families a living, in the best of times. Such men are poorly qualified to teach others economy and management in the concerns of common life. A few such persons might be of some service, should they be of a condescending disposition, and always ready to be instructed by others. This, however, rarely happens. Too often, in every place, men are ignorant of their want of qualification for business, until they ruin themselves and others by their bad management.

Indians are men of nature, possessing strong mental abilities. Few people more readily perceive when they are in company of a novice, or a man of slender mind, or more certainly feel contempt for such. I hope my fellow-missionaries will allow a remark, which might be esteemed indecorous in me were I not one of their number, and alike exposed to its application. A mistake, not a little prejudicial to our cause, has too extensively prevailed, that a man of very ordinary abilities would answer for a missionary to uncultivated savages. It is hoped that the time is not distant when the condition of the Indians being understood, the fact will be admitted, that their reformation is opposed by greater and more threatening obstacles than any other heathen people on earth, and that consequently missions in no other country equally require men of talents and business. A missionary should be a man acquainted with human nature, attaching dignity to his deportment, and commanding respect from all with whom he mingles. He should possess energy of mind and be in the habit of governing his conduct by reason, and not by the impulse of feeling. I hardly need add that every acquirement will fail, should there be an absence of religious devotion.

Some of our observations will not apply with equal weight to the southern Indians; and to others to the north, on small tracts of country surrounded by white population; these being generally stationary. But while the school and working system is not equally demanded by their circumstances, it is fully believed to be the only efficient mode of missionary operations among Indians of every tribe. It is true, many of those Indians are able and willing to give their children education, but so unfortunate is their situation in general, that it cannot be expected that the rising generation will receive those impressions essential to their subsequent usefulness, unless admitted to the advantages of missionary schools as commonly conducted.

To me it appears obvious that the *school and working system* cannot be abandoned without endangering success; especially so, since our hopes in relation to these people principally rest upon the rising generation. We all admit that religious instruction is indispensable, and we rejoice in the success which has attended it. But the Author of our holy religion has appointed other means for its promotion, besides that of preaching. We see that in the United States religion flourishes most where society in general is best organized. There was a time when Catholic missionaries, in accordance with the too prevalent opinion of the day, scoured the regions of our lakes on the north, and made thousands of proselytes to their religion, but the condition of the Indians was not perceivably improved. I know it will be said that they were proselyted to forms merely; but admitting many of them to have been genuinely pious, what effect could that fact have produced on the manners of the country? It is not sinful to live in tents and bark huts, and to procure subsistence chiefly by the chase; or to appear in the Indian costume. An Indian may be strictly pious, and yet pursue his native mode of living, without incurring the slightest censure. There is at this moment a living instance by my side. Nevertheless, we cannot expect vital piety to abound while the state of society, if society we may call it, is as it is known to be among the Indians. I include them all, those who are more, as well as those who are less favourably situated.

In the colony, some variation from the school and working system may be expected; but this will occur with safety, merely in proportion to the improved situation of the people. We must carry our present mode of operations into the Indian territory, but happily we shall do it under the impression that it will in time assume the attitude of the free school systems of New-England, embracing schools of the higher order. At the arrival of this period, the ministry of the gospel need not be blended with education, &c. as it now is, but may be provided for in the usual way.

It will be perceived that we do not distinguish between missionaries who are preachers, and those who are not. It would be well for every missionary station to be supplied with one minister or more, that the forms of their churches might be properly attended to. But in the matter of instructing Indians in religion, as well as in every thing else, a man who is not a minister of the gospel may be as successful as he who is. When the Indians become settled and civilized, as the whites are in our states, ministers may be located among them upon the same principle that they now are among us. In the present state of affairs, we deem it inexpedient for missionaries who are ministers, to be required to attend merely on parochial duties. It would be ungenerous

in them to ask such a privilege. Imparting religious instruction is the most pleasant part of the whole routine of labour. It is at the same time both profitable and encouraging to the instructor. It is a privilege, and not a task—a privilege which all in their proper spheres should enjoy. I am always grieved to hear societies report distinctions between *missionaries*, (meaning ordained ministers,) and *assistants*, *school-teachers*, *farmers*, *mechanics*, &c.; such statements are a disparagement of the latter, who deserve equally with the former. If the minister has not both capacity and disposition to be either a book-keeper, school-teacher, farmer, or mechanic, or a business-man in some line, I fully believe he does not possess the requisite qualifications of a *missionary to the Indians*.



No. III.

Address to Missionary Societies, on the relation between them and their Missionaries.

THERE are two evil propensities common to the human family, against which societies should carefully guard in the choice of their missionaries, viz. *indolence* and *avarice*; the former we noticed in our last number. Avarice grows up with us from infancy, and often overgrows us in riper years. It is difficult for one whose first impressions received from his parents were, that he was qualifying for business for the sake of acquiring property, to understand what is meant by *disinterested benevolence*; still more difficult is it for him to become *disinterestedly benevolent*. Yet such he must be, or not be employed as a missionary.

The first step in guarding this point is to allow missionaries *no* compensation for their services. Should you offer your missionaries pay,—a sum of money as their own, which they would be at liberty to add to their own private property, this business, like all others, would assume, in many instances, a mercenary character. It will be said, let the compensation be very moderate. Light wages would not be the least safeguard. You can find as ready market for offices with small salaries as you can for those with higher. There are usually more candidates for a petty office in a county, than there would be in proportion for a seat in Congress.

It may be asked why may we not settle on a missionary a specific salary, in the same way that we do on a minister of the gospel in one of our churches? I answer, 1st, for this plain reason; your minister is constantly near you, and his labours such as can be defined. When any dissatisfaction occurs, you know how to dismiss him, and employ another. The case assumes a different countenance when you hire a man and send him a thousand miles from you into a wilderness, to do a work which you do not very well understand yourselves, but a small part of which is really of parochial character. You intend to guard this affair by prescribing rules for his conduct, a departure from which will incur your censure, and procure his dismissal. Theory should always be founded on fact. Now, it is a fact, that government has never

been able to enforce the observance of their righteous rules and regulations relative to the intercourse of whites with the Indians. We admit that in the Indian territory these difficulties as they relate to government will be lessened; but even there they cannot, in a short time, be wholly prevented.

2. The case is one of peculiar character, which requires the exercise of the *whole man*. A man is drowning; you prevail on a broker, whose hands at the moment are filled with bills, to quit his counter and plunge into the water for his relief. At the same time you advise him to hold on to his money with one hand while he employs the other for the relief of the sufferer! When a man has pay coming to him for his services, some attention must be bestowed upon the management of it, and so much of his time and attention are necessarily diverted from the matter which imperiously requires the whole of both. Large salaries would vitiate the better feelings of the heart, and require, and engross considerable time in the disposition of them. The effects of small salaries would be little less objectionable. If you pay them *little* salaries, your missionaries who can accept them will be men of *little* minds, proud of a *little* money, and will require much time to do but *little* business. What more effectual method could be taken to induce men to neglect the interests of others and attend to their own, than to be perpetually giving them business of their own to attend to?

When you make the comparison between a settled minister in one of your churches, and a missionary to the Indians, you seem to lose sight of what must be the peculiar privations of the latter, provided he be faithful and efficient. If he is a man who, while he wishes to lay by for himself, will be content with small wages, I suppose him to be poorly qualified for a missionary. One whose abilities will secure him a handsome income elsewhere, if salary be a *sine qua non* with him, will not enter your service. The man whom you ought to employ is capable of making a living, and of securing a good business in any place where others can. Is it reasonable to suppose that this man, quitting a profitable business, and agreeable society, and subjecting himself to the vexations and privations of a missionary to the Indians, would accept the petty consideration of a few hundred dollars a year as compensation for his services!

It has always grieved missionaries to hear it suggested that they ought to be put upon salaries for their services, for the same reason that an honourable man would be grieved were I to offer him compensation for his encountering the inconvenience of cold, wet, and mud, in assisting me to adjust my carriage which had been upset in the public highway. A genuine missionary is prepared to say that he would not be *hired* to do what he does, and to bear the privations and perplexities of his situation. But there are men whom you can *hire* to enter upon this, or any other service, and you can hire a supply with either high wages or low, as you may choose to offer. The seats in Congress hall could as readily be filled at two dollars a day as at eight. When therefore you suggest *wages* to a missionary, he says you are either ignorant of his situation, or you have a contemptible opinion of his motives and abilities; or perhaps both.

How is it possible for you to secure prompt attention to the *unpleasant* parts of missionary labour, when they are so far from you, and while each has his separate private business to attend in conjunction with yours.

He can observe every rule that you can prescribe, and entirely escape censure ; and yet be in reality totally indifferent to the welfare of the Indians, and worse than useless. This is now, and always has been the case with too many in the employ of Government. Matters that you can mark out, are for the most part such as will afford a vain man an opportunity of *puffing*. This kind of business, or the appearance of it, you can readily enough *hire* a man to perform. But the chief excellence of a missionary consists in voluntarily doing, and enduring things not to be explained in public journals ; feeling anxieties, and performing services of the most unwelcome character, and which he is sure will never be understood by any beside himself and his God. He labours solely from the principle of doing good. He regards neither money nor reputation, and sacrifices convenience, and even life. I believe that some of the most worthy missionaries (among these are a respectable number of females) have seldom appeared before the public. They have toiled in obscurity, without complaint, until, in too many instances, health and spirits have greatly declined ; not expecting or desiring that what they did and endured, should ever be told to others to solicit their sympathies, or their praise. And will you mock the sufferings of such by asking them to accept of a few hundred dollars as compensation for their services ! How would you go about hiring the unobtrusive Judson to risk the horrors of another nineteen month's imprisonment in Burmah, and a recurrence of his untold sorrows in relation to his departed wife and child ! Or how would you apologize for the insult, were you to offer to pay him for the past !

While upon this topic it may not be amiss to explain our views more at large. We are pleased with regulations adopted in *form* by some, and in principle, we trust, by all now employed in this service. They agree to care for each other, and to provide for orphans and widows. Food, raiment, medicine, and the education of their children, are indispensable considerations in life. These they will secure if it can be done. In the event of incompetency of either, they would submit to the privation. Beyond these they seek nothing either for themselves or their families. Further, whatever they may obtain by personal service rendered Government, &c. while in the discharge of missionary duties, be the same either less or more, they throw into the common missionary fund. Some of them receive salaries from Government of several hundred dollars, per annum, for agencies ; the services of which are exactly such as their societies require of them, and which sums they could as properly claim as their own private property as do any other agents of Government ; but which, to the last cent, is thrown into the common treasury, to be applied to the common objects of the mission. They would imitate the disinterested Judson, who received from the British authorities about \$1300, for a tour to Ava to serve as interpreter, and who, on his return, entered the whole on the books to the credit of the society he served. Let such be the relation between you and your missionaries to the Indians, and none will enter your service for the sake of money, or who having entered, will go with Demas after it.

After all, there may exist peculiar cases in which it would be proper for a missionary to live more singly, and provide for himself more separately, than the foregoing observations allow. Further, a mission among the southern Indians, who are comparatively civilized, will bear a greater departure from the rules we have laid down, than those among

uncultivated tribes. But, admissible variations, in the territory or elsewhere, will be either extraordinary cases, or the result of improvement in the condition of the Indians, and consequently of the condition of the missionaries.

When missionaries are so situated that a monthly, quarterly, or annual allowance can be so regulated as to meet the wants of the year, let them be thus allowanced. Some stations necessarily involve greater contingencies in expenditures than others. But in general, a tolerably correct calculation for expenditures of a subsequent year, may be made by reference to those of the preceding. Let appropriations be made accordingly. Missionaries render to their societies regular accounts of receipts and disbursements. When there is a surplus of the past year, it is of course placed to account of the next, and if a deficiency, it should be supplied.

In the relation between missionaries and the societies they serve, I suppose there has not, in any thing, been so great an omission of right regulations, as in regard to the children of the former. The anxieties of parents in this case, are among their sorest trials. In most other heathen lands the children of missionaries may, in a degree, be kept apart from those of the natives. Among the Indians it is otherwise. The condition of these people renders it necessary to bring their children into our families, not in the capacity of servants, because this course would leave them still below mediocrity among men. Our aim is to elevate the Indian character. Their youths therefore must be taught not to consider themselves menials, but to feel prudently ambitious. They must be treated as our own children, or as the children of a friend committed to our care. Hence our own children must mingle with them, learn their language, and see and hear their vices. It is desirable to parents that the first impressions which their children receive, should be right ones; but in this case, the preponderance of example is twenty fold on the undesirable side. In the solitude of their situation, the enjoyment of the society of their children would be deemed a peculiar privilege, but this favour can be but partially realized. It requires no argument to show that these children ought to spend a portion of their time in society different from that existing in the Indian country. The parents employ their whole time and attention in the field of their labours. On this, and many other accounts, the matter of providing for the education of their children, necessarily devolves on the societies. I once thought of offering some further reasons for the course I here mention, but on reflection, the case appears too plain to allow an argument, without an intrusion on common sense and humanity.

Every thing which relates to property with your missionaries, you ought to keep securely in your own hands; but many things respecting management, you must of necessity submit to their judgment. You should retain your authority, but the means of information not being alike within your reach and theirs, much must be delegated to their discretion. This would be unsafe were they hirelings. Their business would be to follow your directions, and when you were obliged to leave them to direct themselves, they would most likely be directed by interest and ease, if these were involved in the question, since to lay by for themselves a little money would be a part of their business at their stations. But there is little danger in committing business to the care of those who work from principle, if they are competent in judgment. They have

invested in the enterprise their entire services. Many of them are enabled by personal efforts to secure to purposes of their missions large sums of money, every cent of which is applied to the common cause, and accounted for to the societies. I am acquainted with one mission in which the missionaries have by personal exertion and management, secured to purposes of the same, considerably more than the society which patronizes it. We may safely conclude that they who evince such a disposition, desire the accomplishment of the work they have undertaken, and for it will employ their best judgments and task their abilities to the utmost.

Societies and their missionaries should carefully guard against what we might term *high colouring*. We are naturally fond of telling the more favourable parts of the story, and rather desire the unfavourable parts to sink into oblivion. I could readily point to statements respecting missionary operations, which approximate this character too nearly. But I deem it sufficient to mention only this general and undoubted fact, viz. a man in Europe by reading the whole of our missionary journals, narratives, reports, &c. would be apt to suppose the success of our labours was such that the aborigines of our country were rapidly improving their condition, both in respect to Christianity and civilization. How would such an one be disappointed on visiting these regions, to find that instead of improvement in general, they were rapidly decreasing in numbers, and perishing under their accumulating misfortunes.

Both societies and missionaries are blameable in this thing. The latter claim a pretext from the peculiarities of their situation. The views of the community in general, in relation to the true condition of the Indians, their character, and the character of missionary labours among them, being erroneous, missionaries find great difficulty in managing those impressions, which influence their patrons as well as other people. Few indeed are prepared for that tedious process which is usually unavoidable in the work. If a missionary is not able to state a tolerable degree of what would be deemed by his patrons *evidence of success*, and in a pretty short time too after he has commenced his labours, his supporters are liable to grow impatient, and to imagine the existence of some defect in him or his management. A few years ago a solitary missionary and his wife commenced a station in the wilderness, among entirely unimproved Indians. Aside from their destitution of associates, their situation combined many inauspicious circumstances which tended to retard and render difficult their labours. Aware of the danger of impatience on the part of the society, they made extraordinary efforts to get something positively in operation which would satisfy them. In the course of about a year they collected a school of ten or eleven Indian scholars. This, connected with their other doings, they considered, under their peculiar circumstances, remarkable success. Great were their disappointment and chagrin on receiving a letter from the society they served, far from approbatory. The society supposed the success did not bear a just proportion to the time and expense employed.

As all reasonably suppose the frequent occurrence of undesirable events, it is not necessary to trouble the public with minute details of them. But it is absolutely necessary to give the public such a history of affairs, both bad and good, as will enable a reasonable person to form a correct opinion of the people of our charge. I have no reason to accuse any of my missionary brethren with misrepresentation; but there exists

such a dread of the consequences of reporting plainly the discouraging parts of our affairs, that the liberty of discretion in furnishing extracts from the journals, leaves untold for the present many things which might induce others to say, if this be the case you had better quit your labours, and we cease to expend money thereon.

Reports of missionaries usually pass through the hands of their societies, which also sometimes manifest a partiality for the better parts. It is exceedingly unfortunate for the matter of Indian improvement that there are so few, beside the missionaries, who are determined to persevere in the work, even should it appear that much or even all, should fail at last, and are therefore prepared to meet openly the worst of times and prospects. Men of benevolent feelings, contributing to the support of missions, often permit their expectations to become too sanguine, and make more of occurrences at their stations than the missionaries intended or the facts justified. A favourable communication from the monarch of Burmah, and the receipt of the last idols of some of our south sea Islands, would be justly esteemed matters of joy. But, a message to a Missionary Society, of an Indian chief expressing his high approbation of their benevolence, his intention to profit thereby, and his thankfulness therefor, and the presentation of a war-club, with a declaration in favour of peace, are matters worth little more than the amusement afforded us by an acquaintance with the manners of these people. We could easily fill our pockets with papers, sent from Indian chiefs to societies, highly complimentary of the latter, if such a thing were desirable. The Indians delight in dictating and sending letters, and in receiving them, but it is usually merely a matter of courtesy. A man might soon load a horse with war-clubs, tomahawks, and scalping knives, all accompanied by complimentary inscriptions, and declarations of intention to exchange them for things less horrid. But this would not amount to evidence that they who lately dyed them in blood, had become less savage. All that could be inferred with certainty from the whole farce would be, that they were in good humour when they directed the writing of their letters, and yielded so many of their implements of war.

I hardly know whether I ought in this or any other place to notice the malicious slanders, which have been propagated by interested opposers of missions. They have usually been so glaringly absurd, as to forbid credence with men of sober minds. Such slanders have generally elicited inquiries which have resulted in the advantage of the missionaries whom they were intended to injure. In a few instances Indians have been made to say things of which they never thought, or, certainly of which they never thought until instructed what to say by a malicious white man. The brief catalogue of invective is obviously too invidious to be the mere fruit of savage tongues.

It is much to be regretted that they who have from time to time, given us scraps of history of Indian language, character, condition, &c. have allowed themselves to commit such egregious blunders; very little touching these subjects has yet come before the public with tolerable correctness. Inquiries have usually been made precipitately, and too much reliance has been placed upon the statements of negligent, illiterate, and superstitious white men, who mingle with the Indians. This fact should have been left unnoticed here, were it not that the erroneous impression produced on the public, has evidently a disadvantageous bearing upon the subject of Indian improvement.

Societies, in deciding on the usefulness of the labours of their missionaries, should bear in mind the circumstances under which they severally labour. In some places schools may be gathered, and other measures put into operation speedily and promisingly. Missionaries who happen to be thus situated will not lack support. Prayers and gifts will be offered in abundance. Others may have far less to tell of, and yet, considering the obstacles with which they contend, be entitled to a superior degree of credit; these, however, will be likely to feel the effects of backwardness in the supporters of missions to afford them encouragement. This mis-judging of societies is not an evil merely anticipated; it has long existed, and has left some in want and distress when they most needed assistance and encouragement.



No. IV.

Address to candidates for Missionary service and to Missionaries.

None should become missionaries without endeavouring thoroughly to count the cost. Candidates for this service should ask themselves if they are willing to live and die poor? To subject themselves to hunger, cold, fatigue, and other privations consequent on a residence, and on journeyings in a wilderness, and to load their minds with perpetual anxieties? And can you pursue these toils, and bear these anxieties, when you have reason to suppose none on earth has, or ever will have a tolerable idea of them, except your missionary brethren, and the God you serve?

On reading accounts of missionary operations, every Christian feels more or less a holy emulation, because every one feels something of the *spirit* of a missionary, though few are qualified to be successful ones. You read of the trials of missionaries, and feel a readiness to enter upon similar ones in the same cause. But these things appear very different to the reader from what they did to those who realized them. You read in the heat of zeal; perhaps the actor had been by attendant circumstances subjected to great darkness and discouragement. At the distance you stand from them, you may be able to see their connexion with a happy issue; perhaps he who was the subject of them, could not thus trace them, but was ready to conclude that all resulted from his own misguided choice. You read in confidence that the actors were discharging their duty, and when you anticipate similar trials in relation to yourself, you do it upon the supposition that you also would be doing right. Now, if we could always feel assured that we were doing right, nothing would be hard, comparatively speaking. Assured of the approbation of the blessed God, the Christian could rejoice at the stake. But trials, are *trials of faith*, aggravated by the thousand wily arguments of unbelief.

The separating of missionaries from their kindred and acquaintances, under the peculiarly tender associations of thought on those occasions, are trials. But they occur in the warmth of your zeal. You contend with them as you would with a winter's wind, when wrapped in your

mantle. The departure of missionaries for the field of their labours is usually a matter of notoriety, at which times the better feelings, and a great amount of feelings, are put in requisition. Most of them leave port with full sails. About two thirds make short voyages, and speedy, though not profitable returns; and it is commonly remarked, that they who leave port with most canvass, are soonest restored to the bosom of their friends, in the land of their fathers. I would that all when entering upon missionary labours, could take admonition from the words of the king of Israel, "*Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off.*"

Again; in anticipating trials, we always contrive the mode of their attack, and accordingly provide in our minds the means of defence. In the whole of these arrangements we are usually disappointed. The exigency must provide for itself.

In most instances missionaries not only enlist with high spirits, but commence their work at their stations with increased ardour. But weeks and months render their work familiar. Their hopes are seldom realized in success. Disappointments follow in quick succession, till at length they fancy they hear a whisper, "Who hath required this at your hand?" A person once told me that he was pretty confident that he was not in the path of duty, because he was favoured with less religious enjoyment than before he became a missionary. This absence of religious feeling is one of our greatest privations, and that which points the sting of all our trials, yet it is nothing more than we may generally expect in our situation. Heaven appointed the social privileges which Christians enjoy when surrounded by numerous brethren, &c. for consoling and strengthening our minds; in the absence, therefore, of these means, we must experience the absence of their legitimate effects.

As soon as the ardour produced by novelty has subsided, missionaries have evinced, so far as I have had an opportunity of observing, a disposition to melancholy. Their seclusion from the rest of the world, their disappointments, and the peculiar character of their toils and trials, all tend to depress the spirits. A disposition to hypochondria as naturally belongs to man, as inherent infirmity which renders him susceptible of disease. The causes which irritate it abound with a missionary to the Indians. Hence, while compelled to be resolute, he is painfully suspicious, clouds which gather about him are blackened, and pleasantness itself is embittered.

In a former number, I dropped a hint respecting the anxiety which parents feel in relation to their children. Of this you may suppose you have formed a tolerably correct idea, but in the progress of your pilgrimage, you will probably have occasion to say "the half had not been told you." It is difficult to become reconciled to the fact of leaving our children poor, and to the application of all our exertions to the promotion of the interests of others, while not a dollar is to be laid by for our children. If they should become missionaries, their condition will have been settled by the example of their parents: but they may never become religious, and if they should, they may not choose to be missionaries; in either event, they must enter the world in poverty.

It sometimes also happens, that missionaries have not reason to suppose that their widows and orphans will be suitably provided for. A missionary who had spent about ten years of the best part of his life

among the Indians; who had bestowed not only *all* his time, but a considerable portion of his own funds in the cause of the mission, was so unfortunate as to receive a communication of a discouraging character on this subject. Before proper explanations could be made, an attack of fever brought him so low that his life was almost despaired of. His associates were not wanting in kindness, but they were few in number, and so situated that he could not expect *much* aid from them for his family. The thought of dying in the wilderness, and leaving his wife and many small children to be driven to some other place, he knew not where, destitute of the comforts of life, to the mercy of an almost merciless world, was accompanied by anxieties unknown to those who have not been similarly situated. He said to a gentleman who had visited the station, "Should I die, I shall leave my family in a deplorable condition.....They are provided for only in my reliance upon the God whom I have served."

It may be objected that such sacrifices are not required. I think differently; and some reasons for my opinion have been already assigned. Somebody must do the work. Ordinary efforts will not succeed in the almost desperate case of the Indians. Extraordinary efforts will combine extraordinary sacrifices. The question cannot remain long unanswered, Whether it be not better for a few to subject themselves and families to inconvenience, than to suffer a noble race of men to perish from off the face of the earth.

But in the discharge of duty, reasonable trust in God is safe. The man to whom we referred above was comforted by the language of David, "I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." "My children," said he, "may become worthless, and this might happen were I to bring them up under the most favourable circumstances; but I trust that the extra risk attendant on my situation will be more than equalled by the promise of God."

Finally, if you become a missionary, you must live by faith. Renouncing self-interest, you must bend your *whole self* to the affairs of the mission.

The responsibility upon all who engage to promote Indian improvement is great, but it devolves with peculiar weight upon you who are in the midst of misery, and within reach of the miserable.

Whatever may be the difficulties attending your situation, you dare not indulge a thought of abandoning the people of your charge. Many of them, from the child to the aged, have become personally acquainted with you. They easily perceive that you are not mingling with them for the purposes of trade, or of worldly profit in any way. They are at no loss to discover the difference between your treatment of them, and that of other white men who have been in their country; and they as readily infer that you are the persons on whom they may rely for *friendship*; these hopes must not be disappointed. It will not be sufficient for us to suppose that, if we retire, others will enter the field: if others should not, how should we answer the complaints of these people for our forsaking them? There exists a lamentable want of missionaries; none can be discharged without serious loss to the cause. We may not plead the inequality of labour between ourselves, and others within the circles of civilized life; for, if others can bask in plenitude, and satisfy their consciences by an occasional contribution of their property for the benefit of the heathen, *we cannot*. Each of us must adhere to the resolution,

"Let others do as they may, we will use our utmost endeavours to relieve this unfortunate people." However discouraging may be our prospects of success, we will not relinquish our labours. If the Indians perish, they must do it while missionaries are employing all their energies for their relief.

The children adopted into our missionary families, and admitted to our schools, look to us as their guardians; as their only friends; while they have become second in our affections to our own children. We have formed acquaintance with others who manifest a similar dependance upon our kindness. How could we call them around us, and inform them that we were about to forsake them! We say, "You have been taught to look to us as substantial friends, whose only business on earth was to seek your welfare. But we now must tell you that you have heard our last religious discourse, and our last prayer. You must now retire to the forests, to be driven from place to place, to languish under the complicated woes of hunger, cold, intemperance, disease contracted by intercourse with the whites, and broken-heartedness, until you perish." What think you of such language as the following, from the lips of a retiring missionary?

"My labours for you subject me to many anxieties and privations. I have already borne more than would have fallen to my proportion, in an equal distribution among your professed friends. I feel great anxiety on account of my family, and as *charity ought to begin at home*, I must make some provision for them. I have long been witness of your deplorable condition, and know that your hasty existence will be intolerable. But, while you shelter your half-naked body from the rain or snow, beneath a piece of bark; or while you dig roots, boil weeds, and scrape the bark of trees for subsistence, I will console myself with a comfortable fire-side, and well furnished bed and board for me and mine. I regret, indeed, that you will never again be conducted to the house of God, but this grief shall be assuaged by the privilege of leading my own family to worship in houses more decent, and congregations more agreeable, than have been realized in your country; and in hearing the precepts, promises, and threatenings of the bible, such as, 'Do to others as ye would that others should do to you.' 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble.' 'He shall have judgment without mercy that hath shewed no mercy,' &c. In leaving you, I deprive you of the only means of consoling your sick and dying hours, yet I trust that God 'will make my bed in sickness, and render it, even in death, as 'soft as downy pillows are.' Others have 'wandered in deserts and mountains, in caves and dens of the earth; have worn sheep-skins and goat-skins; were afflicted and counted not their lives dear,' in the cause of benevolence. Though bound to imitate their example, I will seek ease and comfort; better for me to provide for my own brief existence on earth, and for my family, than to commit myself to the providence of a merciful and righteous Lord, and prosecute troublesome toils for the sake of rescuing from destruction, temporal and eternal, a languishing remnant of a noble race of men. I take my leave of you, in the assurance of leaving you destitute of the means of relief, so far as I can deprive you of them. We shall meet again at the great day of retribution; then, ask me not why I preferred the hopes of a few days' softness of refined life, to the salvation of thousands of immortal souls, nor heap upon me the blame of your destruction!"

We do not attach so much importance to a company of missionaries, as to suppose that the Almighty would permit their fearfulness to effect such sad consequences, but the guilt is none the less on the part of the missionary. So far as he is concerned in the case above, his guilt would not be greater if his callousness should not be overruled by Him who sitteth in the heavens. God requires us to employ means for the benefit of the bodies and the souls of our fellow men, and when we neglect the use of those means, we become guilty of the legitimate consequences of their absence, whether they occur or are prevented by the hand of Providence. On a notable emergency, Mordecai said to Esther, "Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape, for if thou altogether hold thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place, and thou shalt be destroyed."

Who would excuse the surgeon for refusing to dress the wound because it had become offensive? Our work is a difficult one, requiring the sacrifice of "mortal interests," but *somebody must make that sacrifice*. Let us therefore esteem it a privilege and an honour to be selected by Providence for this work. Our patience and faith are often tried; instances of ingratitude too often occur; and our fondest hopes are frequently blighted; but "in due time we shall reap if we faint not."

I would not be understood as saying that circumstances may not frequently occur to justify missionaries in leaving the fields of their labours. Want of health, and a hundred other considerations, will often plainly evince the propriety of such a course. Indeed exceptions to all prescribed general rules must frequently be made, because called for by the emergencies peculiar to the subject.

Our perplexities, however, do not all spring up in the land of our labours. Erroneous views of this subject unhappily prevail in the United States, out of which grow many trials more difficult to manage than those which are indigenous to the forests. The prating of the malicious, who would measure our disinterestedness by their own avarice and ambition, is little more than the noise of the potsherd;—grating to our feelings, but not hurtful to our healths. But, the virtuous and the good have also their mistaken notions of the subject of Indian improvement;—their jealousies and doubts; these give rise to many sad hours which are understood only by *Him* into whose bosom we pour our plaint.

In a land of freedom as ours is, where the people think and judge for themselves without external restraint; and while each has his own personal business, which engrosses his chief attention, and thereby is induced to decide on missionary operations without the labour of examining them thoroughly; it must be expected that public opinion will undergo many changes. There will be times when public sentiment and feelings may be awakened in a high degree, in favour of supporting missions;—hearts will be tender, and hands will be liberal. But, in those favourable seasons, when we are allowed so plenteously the prayers, the sympathies, the counsels, and the munificence of the Christian community, let us prepare to meet the shock of reaction. We may expect it with little less certainty, than we foresee that the pinchings of winter will succeed the pleasures and plenitude of autumn. Times will occur, when they who have contributed somewhat to the support of missions will look back and inquire, what has become of our money? Be not astonished my brethren, if, after years of privation and toil, which had often threatened to overcome both your resolution and your

ability to bear ; and if, after the most conscientious economy and management you should be charged by many with waste and profusion in applying the munificence of the public. Be not astonished, if you should be represented as having lived in ease and affluence on the charities of the supporters of missions ;—these will be blows extending to the *heart*. “ It was not an enemy that reproached me, then I could have borne it, neither was it he that hated me that did magnify himself against me, then I would have hid myself from him. But, it was thou, a man, mine equal, my GUIDE and mine acquaintance. *We took sweet counsel together, and walked into the house of God in company.*”

In the impatience of the public, plans and improvements relative to missionary operations will often be devised by those who, with the best motives, do not, equally with yourselves, possess the means of enabling them to arrive at just decisions. Forbearance on our part, and a disposition to submit in all cases which do not vitally affect the interests of the mission, will be becoming in us. But when rules are devised for the operation of our affairs which we are convinced are in themselves calculated to undermine our hopes for the future, or to plunge into ruin that for which we have toiled in days past, then it would be criminal if we should not meekly take a decisive stand. For the regulation of our conduct in this trying posture of affairs, no specific rules can be prescribed further than, when we assume this decisive and awfully responsible position, let us do it upon our knees, with eyes lifted towards the heavens, and while we extend our hand to avert the threatening evil, cry, O spare !

At present the too general impression that almost any one will answer well enough for a missionary to the Indians, frequently injures both our usefulness and our feelings. If a man is in good business, possesses some property, and moves in what they call the higher circles in life, he is seldom thought of as suitable for a missionary to the Indians. While we protest against the principle, we admit that few such as last described are likely to enter our ranks, nor will any of us ever blush at our acquaintance with the humbler walks of life in days past or present.

We should carefully guard against selfishness in all its bearings. Let us never feel uneasy lest our fare be more homely than that of our brethren. With equal vigilance let us guard against jealousy, which would make us fear that we did not receive a due proportion of credit for our services. Each should resolve to do all within his power, let others do as they may ; and if my brother should neglect a part of his business, I will endeavour to perform it, and my own too. As to praise for what we do, or the pleasure of having our names known to others, we should esteem ourselves unworthy of being missionaries if not content with the approbation of “ *Him* who seeth in secret.” A candid, unvarnished history of our affairs, is proper for us to give ; the interests of our enterprise require it, and our patrons have a right to expect it ; but we need not envy those who by noise would make little labours appear great.

Yet while we glance at the out-lines of our trials, we have the satisfaction to know that our work abounds with pleasures as well as pains. There is a peculiar sweetness in labours of benevolence, which solicit no reward of money nor of praise, but merely that of seeing others made happy thereby ; a sweetness unknown to the merchant who counts over his daily profits, and to the ambitious who are pleased with a *name*.

The Gospel never appears more precious than when preached in the smoky wigwam of an Indian. To aid in taming the wild-man, and in leading his sons and his daughters to the elevation of civilized life, and to an equality in the scale of being with neighbouring nations, afford pleasures which do not grow spontaneously in earth.

There are also many who, so far as they understand our situation, kindly sympathize in our trials and delight to afford comfort; to which we add the pleasant reflection, that thousands only need to be made acquainted with our case, to interest their generous hearts in our behalf. The society of each other is peculiarly sweet, secluded from the pursuits of other men, and all consecrated to the same labours, "our hopes, our fears, our aims are one, our comforts and our cares." Here sectarian bitterness cannot live, and Paul and Barnabas' sharp contentions are soon forgot.

Amidst our disappointments and discouragements too, we find our joys; for, our labours are not wholly lost; they never have been in any known instance of missionary effort among the Indians. We are daily benefitting a few, and those of us who feel most discouraged, have realized occurrences which have more than compensated our labours. It is not all *uncertainty* in relation to our success. We trust that when the peculiarities of the condition of the Indians become properly understood, measures will be provided to afford substantial relief. The indulgence of faith and hope in the case is grateful in proportion to the menacing aspect of their present condition. Should we at the "set time to favour the Indians" be found at our posts, and be made instrumental in contributing somewhat to its accomplishment, we shall have no reason to regret our unwearied exertions in so good a cause.

We should be careful not to confine our views to the immediate sphere of our labours, and hence draw conclusions in relation to the subject of Indian improvement in general; nor should we be influenced by partiality for a particular place, or a particular measure. I may be located at a place at which it is desirable to remain. I have some Indians about me with whom I have become acquainted, and we all feel more at home in this place than we fancy we shall in any other; and anticipate, on various accounts, much inconvenience in a removal, and I may, for these reasons, ask leave to remain where I am. But the question should not be decided under the influence of such considerations. I should inquire whether the people of my charge could not thrive better in some other place, in the probable event of which my own convenience ought not to be consulted.

I believe that the cause of Indian improvement is at this time suffering not a little by the partiality which many feel for particular places at which they labour. It is an evil which cannot be too soon corrected, and one which I have reason to believe exists to an extent beyond what many suppose.



No. V.

Conclusion.

The preceding remarks lead us to the following conclusions. We have within our control the means of rescuing from destruction the abori-

gines of our country, and of elevating them to an equality with their neighbours, in the scale of being and the enjoyments of life. The points which vitally affect their condition are involved in the policy, and consequently are under the control, of our government. Our rulers are the representatives of the people, of whom they form a part, and are acting agreeably to their directions. Hence, *when the people get right on the subject of Indian improvement, GOVERNMENT WILL BE RIGHT.*

The menacing attitude assumed by opposing obstacles admonishes us that, to the strong arm of government must be united sacrifices which benevolence alone can be expected to make. No sacrifices on the part of government, as such, is required in the case, for the whole process may go on to the positive advantage of our nation. Were it otherwise, our government would not withhold the necessary aid. It would not pause to reckon dollars and cents, in an enterprize of such magnitude. The sacrifices which are necessary require us to enter into the midst of their poverty, sorrows, and sins, to unite our efforts with theirs, in applying to their relief the comforts of life; gently to wipe the tear of grief, kindly to whisper the voice of hope, and lead them in the paths of virtue. Some of us must consent to live with them upon the principle of disinterested benevolence, that our attention being undivided, we may devote our entire selves to the work; may enter freely and fully into the *little and disagreeable* affairs of their condition; matters which cannot be made subjects of national legislation, except upon very general principles, and which nevertheless vitally affect the health of the nation.

While some must consecrate their lives to the object, others must contribute of their property, all that the case demands above the provisions of government. In the language of Deborah in Israel, let me ask, have we among us a competent number of persons who, like "*the people of Zebulon and Naphtali, will come to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and jeopard their comforts and their lives in the desert places of the earth, and ask no gain of money?*" Again, in the language of Ezra, will "*the people offer freely, according to their ability, for the accomplishment of this work?*" The beneficent spirit of the age responds; *we have the men; the means; and the disposition to use them.* Justice and humanity prepare to sound the trump of Jubilee, and call the wandering outcasts to their kindred, their country, and their HOME.

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